THE CHRONOLOGY

OF

ANCIENT NATIONS

AN ENGLISH VERSION OF THE

ARABIC TEXT OF THE ATHÂR-UL-BÁKIYA OF ALBÍRÚNÍ,

OR

"VESTIGES OF THE PAST,"

COLLECTED AND REDUCED TO WRITING BY THE AUTHOR
IN A.H. 390—1, A.D. 1000.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED, WITH NOTES AND INDEX, BY

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PREFACE.

It was Sir Henry Rawlinson who first directed public attention to this work of Albîrûnî, in his celebrated article on Central Asia in the "Quarterly Review" for 1866, in which he gave some valuable information derived from his own manuscript copy, now the property of the British Museum. In offering the book, both in text and translation, to the learned world, I feel bound to premise that it is scarcely of a nature to attract the interest of the general reader. It appeals to minds trained in the schools of various sciences. Even competent scholars will find it no easy matter to follow our author through all the mazes of his elaborate scientific calculations. Containing, as it does, all the technical and historical details of the various systems for the computation of time, invented and used by the Persians, Sogdians, Chorasmians, Jews, Syrians, Ḥarránians, and Arabs, together with Greek traditions, it offers an equal interest to all those who study the antiquity and history of the Zoroastrian and Jewish, Christian and Muhammadan religions.*

The work of Albîrûnî has the character of a primary source. Oriental philologists are accustomed to see one book soon superseded by another, Barhebraeus by Ibn-al'athîr, Ibn-al'athîr by Al-Ṭabarî. Although it is likely enough

* By Christians, I understand the Melkite and Nestorian Churches, whilst the author does not seem to have known much more of the Jacobites than the name.

that on many subjects in this book we shall one day find better authenticated and more ancient information, I venture to say, that, as a whole, it will scarcely ever be superseded It is a standard work in Oriental literature, and has been recognised as such by the East itself, representing in its peculiar line the highest development of Oriental scholarship. Perhaps we shall one day find the literary sources themselves from which Albîrûnî derived his information, and shall be enabled to dispense with his extracts from them. But there are other chapters, *e.g.* those on the calendars of the ancient inhabitants of Central Asia, regarding which we shall, in all likelihood, never find any more ancient information, because the author had learned the subject from hearsay among a population which was then on the eve of dying out. As the first editor and translator of a book of this kind, I venture to claim the indulgence of the reader. Generations of scholars have toiled to carry the understanding of Herodotus to that point where it is now, and how much is wanting still! The work of generations will be required to do full justice to Albîrûnî. A classical philologist can edit a Greek text in a correct form, even though he may have no complete understanding of the subject-matter in all possible relations. Not so an Arabic philologist. The ambiguity of the Arabic writing—*proh dolor!*—is the reason why a manuscript expresses only three-quarters of the author's meaning, whilst the editor is compelled to supply the fourth quarter from his own knowledge and discernment. No number in any chronological table can be considered correct, as long as it is not proved by computation to be so, and even in the simplest historical narrative the editor and translator may most lamentably go astray in his interpretation, if there is something wrong with the method of his research.

I have boldly attacked the sometimes rather enigmatic style of the author, and if I have missed the mark, if the bewildering variety and multiplicity of the subject-matter have prevented me reaching the very bottom of every question, I must do what more or less every Oriental author does at the end of his work,—humbly ask the gentle reader to pardon my error and to correct it.

I. *The Author.*

The full name of the author is *Abû-Raiḥân Muḥammad b. 'Ahmad Albîrûnî*. He quotes himself as *Abû-Raiḥân* (*vide* p. 134, l. 29), and so he is generally called in Eastern literature, more rarely *Albîrûnî*.

The latter name means, literally, *extraneous*, being a derivative from the Persian بیرون which means *the outside* as a noun, and *outside* as a preposition. In our time the word is pronounced *Bîrûn* (or *Beeroon*), *e.g.* in Teheran, but the vowel of the first syllable is a *yâi-majhûl*, which means that in more ancient times it was pronounced *Bêrûn* (or *Bayroon*). This statement rests on the authority of the Persian lexicographers. That the name was pronounced in this way in Central Asia about the author's time, we learn from an indisputable statement regarding our author from the pen of Alsam'ânî, a philologist and biographer of high repute, who wrote only one hundred years after the author's death (*vide* Introduction to my edition of the text, p. xviii.).

He was a native of Khwârizm, or Chorasmia, the modern Khiva; to speak more accurately, a native either of a *suburb* (*Bêrûn*) of the capital of the country, both of which bore the same name *Khwârizm*, or of the *country-district* (also called *Bêrûn*) belonging to the capital.

Albîrûnî was born A.H. 362, 3. Dhû-alḥijja (A.D. 973,

4th September), and died A.H. 440, 2. Rajab (A.D. 1048, 11th December), aged seventy-five years.

The first part of his life he seems to have spent in Khwârizm, where he enjoyed the protection of the *House of Ma'mûn*, the rulers of the country. Originally vassals of the kings of Central Asia of the *House of Sâmân*, they became independent when the star of their masters began to sink, *i.e.* between A.H. 384–390. They were, however, not to play a great part in the history of the East, for so early as A.H. 407 their power was crushed by the great Mahmûd of Ghazna, and their dominions annexed to his empire. Like Albîrûnî, other scholars also of high standing received protection and favours at the court of the Ma'mûnî princes.

The author is known to have lived some years also in Jurjân, or Hyrcania, on the southern shores of the Caspian sea, under the protection, and perhaps at the court, of Kâbûs ben Washmgîr Shams-alma'âlî, who ruled over Hyrcania and the adjoining countries at two different periods, A.H. 366–371 and 388–403. To this prince he has dedicated the present book, apparently about A.H. 390–391, (A.D. 1000).

During the years A.H. 400–407 he stayed again in his native country at the court of Ma'mûn b. Ma'mûn, as his friend and counsellor. He was a witness of the rebellion that broke out A.H. 407, of the murder of Ma'mûn, and of the conquest of the country by Mahmûd of Ghazna, who, on returning, carried off him and other scholars to Afghanistan in the spring of A.H. 408.

Among his numerous works, we find mentioned a "Chronicle of Khwârizm," in which he probably had recorded all the traditions relating to the antiquity of his native country, and more especially the history of those events of

which he had himself been a witness. This work seems to be lost. However, an extract of it has come down to us as the last part of the great chronicle of the royal house of Maḥmûd, composed by Albaihaḳî, the editior of which we owe to the industry and learning of the late W. H. Morley ("Bibliotheca Indica," Calcutta, 1862, pp. 834, &c.).

With A.H. 408 begins a new period in the author's life, when he enlarged the circle of his researches on mathematics, astronomy, geography, chronology, and natural sciences by his study of India, its geography and history, of the language and literature, manners and customs, of the Hindûs. It was the period when he gathered all those materials which he deposited towards the end of his life in his famous "Memoir on India."

After Albîrûnî had settled in Ghazna, he paid at least one more visit to his native country. He died, probably, at Ghazna. Whether he travelled much in other countries besides India, I have no means of proving. From the present book we can only infer that, besides his native country and Hyrcania, he also knew parts of Media, *e.g.* Rai (Rhagæ).

II. *His Work.*

Albîrûnî calls his work *Alâthâr Albâḳiya 'an-il-Kûrûn Alkhâliya, i.e.* monuments or vestiges of generations of the past that have been preserved up to the author's time, meaning by *monuments* or *vestiges* the religious institutes of various nations and seots, founded in more anoient times, and, more or less, still practised and adhered to by the Oriental world about A.D. 1000.

With admirable industry the author gathers whatever traditions he can find on every single fact, he confronts them with eaoh other, and inquires with critical acumen

into the special merits or demerits of each single tradition. Mathematical accuracy is his last gauge, and wherever the nature of a tradition admits of such a gauge, he is sure to verify it by the help of careful mathematical calculation. To speak in general, there is much of the modern spirit and method of critical research in our author, and in this respect he is a phenomenon in the history of Eastern learning and literature. Authors of the first centuries of the Hijra sometimes betray a great deal of common sense and good method, sometimes also unmistakable traces of a marked individuality, whilst the later centuries are characterised by the very opposite. Then the author entirely disappears behind his book; all literary work sinks down to the level of imbecile compilation from good and bad sources; the understanding of the life and literature of the preceding centuries becomes rare and distorted. Common sense has gone never to return, and very seldom do we meet with a trace of scientific method or of the individuality of the author.

The fourth century is the turning-point in the history of the spirit of Islâm, and the establishment of the orthodox faith about 500 sealed the fate of independent research for ever. But for Alash'arî and Alghazzâlî the Arabs might have been a nation of Galileos, Keplers, and Newtons.

Originally I intended to give a complete *exposé* of the sources whence Albîrûnî has drawn his manifold information, but the material hitherto available for researches on the literary history of the east is still so scanty that I had to desist from my plan. This applies in particular to the east of the Khalifate, to Khurâsân. We are comparatively well informed regarding the literature of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and the farther west of Islâm, whilst we have very little information regarding the scien-

tific and literary life east of Bagdad as it developed itself during the first three centuries of Abbaside rule, under the protection of the imperial governors and the later independent princes, *e.g.* the House of Sâmân.

It is to be hoped that Central Asia and Afghanistan, when once in the grasp of European influence, will yield us rich collections of valuable literary monuments. Hitherto manuscripts coming from those countries are seldom met with in the great libraries of Europe.

As for the *written* material which the author had at his disposal, he quotes many a book of which I elsewhere can scarcely find a trace. All the books, *e.g.* on Persian and Zoroastrian history and traditions, composed in early times, not only by Zoroastrians but also by Muslims, converts from the Zoroastrian creed, are altogether unknown in Europe; and it seems very probable that the bigoted people of later times have spared very little of this kind of literature, which to them had the intolerable smell of filthy idolatry.

As regards Persian history, Albîrûnî had an excellent predecessor in Aliafahânî, whom he follows frequently, and whom he was not able to surpass in many points.

From oral information Albirûnî seems to have learned all he knows of the chronology and calendar of the Zoroastrian populations of Persia, of his native country, and of Sogdiana (or Bukhârâ). In his time the majority of the country-people still adhered to Ahuramazda, and in most towns there must still have been Zoroastrian communities, so that Albîrûnî did not lack the opportunity for studying the manners and institutes of the then existing followers of Zoroaster. Unfortunately, the Zoroastrian creed had lost its clerical and political unity and constitution. The people practised their customs as they had seen

their parents do, but they had no longer a correct understanding of their origin and meaning. Certainly a Mohedan-Mobed of the time of Ardashîr Bâbekân would have been able to give a more accurate and complete account of Zoroastrian life and religion; but still we must be thankful to Albîrûnî for his having preserved to posterity the festal calendars as used by Zoroastrians of his time when their religion was on the eve of dying out.

To *oral* information I ascribe also the author's admirable knowledge of the Jewish calendar. Jewish scholars will be able to say whether his informants were Ananites (Karaites) or Rabbanites. My critics do not seem to have noticed that Albîrûnî, a *Muslim*, is the first of all the scholars we know who has composed a scientific system of the Jewish chronology. He is much anterior to Moses Maimonides, also to Abraham bar Chiyya, being a contemporary of R. Sherîrâ and Hâî Gâôn, who seem to play a prominent part in the history of Jewish chronology.

With Nestorian Christians he must have been acquainted, as he speaks of the Nestorian communities of his native country. His report of the Melkite feasts, &c., may have been communicated to him by Nestorian priests from Syriac sources.

Albîrûnî wrote both in Arabic and Persian, as he has edited his "Kitâb-altafhîm" in both languages. There is a possibility of his having had a smattering of Hebrew and Syriac (*vide* pp. 18, 19), but of Greek he seems to have been ignorant, and whatever he relates on the authority of Greek authors—Ptolemy, Galen, Eusebius, &c.—must have been communicated to him by the ordinary channel of Syriac-Arabic translation. His study of Sanskrit falls into the latter half of his life.

From occasional notes in the book a description of the

author's character may be gleaned. He seems to have been a truth-loving man, attacking all kinds of shams with bitter sarcasms. He was not without a humoristic vein, and his occasional ironical remarks offer a curious contrast to the pervading earnestness of the tenor of his speech. As a Muslim he inclined towards the Shî'a, but he was not a bigoted Muslim. He betrays a strong aversion to the Arabs, the destroyers of Sasanian glory, and a marked predilection for all that is of Persian or Eranian nationality. Muslim orthodoxy had not yet become so powerful as to imperil the life of a man, be he Muslim or not, who would study other religions and publicly declare in favour of them. Daḳîḳî, a poet not long anterior to Albîrûnî, a favourite of the Muslim house of Sâmân, was allowed to sing—

"Of all that is good and bad in the world,
Daḳîḳî has chosen four things to himself:
A woman's lips as red as rubies, the melody of the lute,
The blood-coloured wine, and *the religion of Zoroaster.*"

Not long afterwards, at the court of the great Maḥmûd of Ghazna, these verses would probably have proved fatal to their author.

Habent sua fata libelli, and I may add, the fate of this book, from the time of its composition till the time when I began to study it, has not been a fortunate one. Only a few were able to understand it, few had an interest in having it copied.

In the form in which I offer the book to the reader it is not complete. Many most essential parts, both large and small, are missing, *e.g.* the chapter on Zoroaster, a most deplorable loss, arising probably from Muslim bigotry. However, I should think it does not require an apology from me to have edited the book in this mutilated form in

which I have found it in the manuscripts. Should the favour of time bring to light one day a complete copy, I shall be happy if circumstances will allow me at once to edit the hitherto missing parts in text and translation.

The basis of my edition consists of two manuscripts of the seventeenth and one of the nineteenth century, all full of faults, and—what is worse!—agreeing with each other almost in every particular. In fact, all three copies represent one and the same original. Fortunately a chronological work offers this advantage, that in many cases mathematical examination enables the editor to correct the blunders of the tradition, *e.g.* in the numerous tables.

My notes are in the first place intended to give the calculations on which the tables rest. Besides, they contain contributions to the explications of certain difficult passages, short information on points of literary history, and, lastly, a few remarks on the text and corrections.

For all other introductory questions I refer the reader to the German preface to my edition of the text.

In offering my translation to the English reader, I desire to thank my friend, the Rev. Robert Gwynne, Vicar of St. Mary's, Soho, London, who not only corrected the whole manuscript, but also read the proof-sheets of the entire book.

EDWARD SACHAU.

Berlin, 24th May, 1879.

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ERRATA.

p. 383, *delete the first two lines and insert*—

Sawir. Perhaps identical with the Σαβειροί of Byzantine authors, from whom *Siberia* derived its name.

p. 451, col. 2, last line, *delete* Chiun, 266, 10.

p. 452, col. 1, line 1, *after* Chinese *insert* 266, 10.

p. 460, after line 42 *insert*—

Poisou-mountain (rarefied atmosphere), 263, 17.

p. 462, col. 2, after line 18 *insert*—

Tibetans, 263, 17.

DIRECTION TO THE BINDER.

Table of Kebi'ôth . . . . to face p. 154.

PREFACE.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

PRAISE be to God who is high above all things (*lit.* those which are unlike, and those which are like to each other), and blessing be on Muḥammad, the elected, the best of all created beings, and on his family, the guides of righteousness and truth.

One of the exquisite plans in God's management of the affairs of his creation, one of the glorious benefits which he has bestowed upon the entirety of his creatures, is that categorical decree of his, not to leave in his world any period without a just guide, whom he constitutes as a protector for his creatures, with whom to take refuge in unfortunate and sorrowful cases and accidents, and upon whom to devolve their affairs, when they seem indissolubly perplexed, so that the order of the world should rest upon—and its existence be supported by—his genius. And this decree (that the affairs of mankind should be governed by a prophet) has been settled upon them as a religious duty, and has been linked together with the obedience towards God, and the obedience towards his Prophet, through which alone a reward in future life may be obtained—in accordance with the word of him, who is the truth and justice—and his word is judgment and decree, "O ye believers, obey God, and obey the prophets, and those among yourselves who are invested with the command." (Sûra iv. 62.)

Therefore, thanks be to God for those blessings, which he has bestowed upon his servants, by exalting our master, the commander, the prince, the glorious and victorious, the benefactor, Shams-alma'âlî, may God

give him a long life, and give duration to his power and majesty, preserve through the course of time his excellence and his splendour, protect his whole house (*lit.* the areas inside and outside his house), prostrate all those who envy him, and all his enemies, (by exalting him) as a guide, who justly rules over his creatures, who furthers religion and truth, who fights for the altar and the hearth of the Muslims, and who protects their country against the mischief of evil-doers. And God has supported him by giving him a character similar to that with which he has blessed his Prophet, the bearer of his revelation; for he, whose name he praised, has said: "To thee has been given a high character." (Sûra lxviii. 4.) How wonderfully has he, whose name is to be exalted and extolled, combined with the glory of his noble extraction the graces of his generous character, with his valiant soul all laudable qualities, such as piety and righteousness, carefulness in defending and observing the rites of religion, justice and equity, humility and beneficence, firmness and determination, liberality and gentleness, the talent for ruling and governing, for managing and deciding, and other qualities, which no fancy could comprehend, and no human being enumerate! And how should a man wonder at this, it being undeniable that God has the power to combine the whole world in one individual (*i.e.* to create a microcosmos)! Therefore, may God permit the Muslims still for a long period to enjoy the kindness of his intentions, the ingenuity of his plans, and his evidently merciful and pitiful mind, with which he cares for them! May they from day to day derive more benefits from the perpetual shade of his majesty, to which they are accustomed! And may God assist by his kindness and mercy, high and low, to fulfil the works of obedience towards God, which are imposed upon them!

Dedication.—The Author's Method.—A learned man once asked me regarding the eras used by different nations, and regarding the difference of their roots, *i.e.* the epochs where they begin, and of their branches, *i.e.* the months and years, on which they are based; further regarding the causes which led to such difference, and the famous festivals and commemoration-days for certain times and events, and regarding whatever else one nation practises differently from another. He urged me to give an explanation, the clearest possible, of all this, so as to be easily intelligible to the mind of the reader, and to free him from the necessity of wading through widely scattered books, and of consulting their authors. Now I was quite aware that this was a task difficult to handle, an object not easily to be attained or managed by anyone, who wants to treat it as a matter of logical sequence, regarding which the mind of the student is not agitated by doubt. However, from the majesty of our master, the prince, the glorious and victorious, the benefactor, Shams-alma'âlî—may God make his power to endure!—I derived strength in exerting my capabilities, and trying to do my utmost in order to explain the whole subject on the basis of that information which I have gathered either as

an ear- or eye-witness, or by cogitation and study. Besides, I was encouraged by that robe of blessed service, in which I have dressed myself, to compose such an explanation for him, who occupies a high throne, that he may see herein a new sign of my service, and that thereby I may obtain the garments of such a glory, the memory and splendour of which will last as my heirloom in posterity through the flood of ages and generations. If, therefore, he—whose noble mind may God preserve!—will favour his servant by overlooking his audacity, and accepting his excuses, he follows the right idea, if it pleases God. And now I commence and say:

The best and nearest way leading to that, regarding which I have been asked for information, is the knowledge of the history and tradition of former nations and generations, because the greatest part of it consists of matters, which have come down from them, and of remains of their customs and institutes. And this object cannot be obtained by way of ratiocination with philosophical notions, or of inductions based upon the observations of our senses, but solely by adopting the information of those who have a written tradition, and of the members of the different religions, of the adherents of the different doctrines and religious sects, by whom the institutes in question are used, and by making their opinions a basis, on which afterwards to build up a system; besides, we must compare their traditions and opinions among themselves, when we try to establish our system. But ere that we must clear our mind from all those accidental circumstances which deprave most men, from all causes which are liable to make people blind against the truth, *e.g.* inveterate custom, party-spirit, rivalry, being addicted to one's passions, the desire to gain influence, etc. For that which I have mentioned, is the nearest way you could take, that leads to the true end, and the most efficient help towards removing all the clouds of uncertainty and doubt, which beset the subject. It is impossible in any other way to reach the same purpose, notwithstanding the greatest care and exertion. On the other hand, we confess that it is by no means easy to act upon that principle and that p. 5. method, which we have laid down, that on the contrary from its recondite nature, and its difficulty, it might seem to be almost unattainable—on account of the numerous lies which are mixed up with all historical records and traditions. And those lies do not all on the face of it appear to be impossibilities, so that they might be easily distinguished and eliminated. However, that which is within the limits of possibility, has been treated as true, as long as other evidence did not prove it to be false. For we witness sometimes, and others have witnessed before us, physical appearances, which we should simply declare to be impossible, if something similar were related from a far remote time. Now the life of man is not sufficient to learn thoroughly the traditions of one of the many nations. How, therefore, could he learn the traditions of all of them? That is impossible.

The matter standing thus, it is our duty to proceed from what is near to the more distant, from what is known to that which is less known, to gather the traditions from those who have reported them, to correct them as much as possible, and to leave the rest as it is, in order to make our work help him, who seeks truth and loves wisdom, in making independent researches on other subjects, and guide him to find out that which was denied to us, whilst we were working at this subject, by the will of God, and with his help.

In conformity with our plan, we must proceed to explain the nature of day and night, of their totality, *i.e.* the astronomical day, and assumed beginning. For day and night are to the months, years, and eras, what one is for the numerals, of which they are composed, and into which they are resolved. By an accurate knowledge of day and night, the progress towards learning that which is composed of them and built upon them, becomes easy.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE NATURE OF DAY AND NIGHT, OF THEIR TOTALITY AND OF THEIR BEGINNINGS.

I SAY: Day and night (*i.e.* *νυχθήμερον*) are one revolution of the sun in the rotation of the universe, starting from and returning to a circle, which has been assumed as the beginning of this same Nychthemeron, whichsoever circle it may be, it being determined by general consent. This *circle* is a "great" circle; for each great circle is dynamically an horizon. By "*dynamically*" (*τῇ δυνάμει*), I mean that it (this circle) may be the horizon of any place on the earth. By the "*rotation of the universe*," I mean the motion of the celestial sphere, and of all that is in it, which we observe going round on its two poles from east to west.

The Setting of the Sun as the beginning of the Day.—Now, the Arabs assumed as the beginning of their Nychthemeron the point where the setting sun intersects the circle of the horizon. Therefore their Nychthemeron extends from the moment when the sun disappears from the horizon till his disappearance on the following day. They were induced to adopt this system by the fact that their months are based upon the course of the moon, derived from her various motions, and that the beginnings of the months were fixed, not by calculation, but by the appearance of the new moons. Now, full moon, the appearance of which is, with them, the beginning of the month, becomes visible towards sunset. Therefore their night preceded their day; and, therefore, it is their custom to let the nights precede the days, when they mention them in connection with the names of the seven days of the week. p. 6.

Those who herein agree with them plead for this system, saying that darkness in the order (of the creation) precedes light, and that light suddenly came forth when darkness existed already; that, therefore, that which was anterior in existence is the most suitable to be adopted

as the beginning. And, therefore, they considered absence of motion as superior to motion, comparing rest and tranquillity with darkness, and because of the fact that motion is always produced by some want and necessity; that weariness follows upon the necessity; that, therefore, weariness is the consequence of motion. Lastly, because rest (the absence of motion), when remaining in the elements for a time, does not produce decay; whilst motion, when remaining in the elements and taking hold of them, produces corruption. As instances of this they adduce earthquakes, storms, waves, &c.

The Rising of the Sun as the beginning of the Day.—As to the other nations, the Greeks and Romans, and those who follow with them the like theory, they have agreed among themselves that the Nychthemeron should be reckoned from the moment when the sun rises above the eastern horizon till the same moment of the following day, as their months are derived by calculation, and do not depend upon the phases of the moon or any other star, and as the months begin with the beginning of the day. Therefore, with them, the day precedes the night; and, in favour of this view, they argue that light is an *Ens*, whilst darkness is a *Non-ens*. Those who think that light was anterior in existence to darkness consider motion as superior to rest (the absence of motion), because motion is an *Ens*, not a *Non-ens*—is life, not death. They meet the arguments of their opponents with similar ones, saying, *e.g.* that heaven is something more excellent than the earth; that a working man and a young man are the healthiest; that running water does not, like standing water, become putrid.

Noon or Midnight as the beginning of the Day.—The greater part and the most eminent of the learned men among astronomers reckon the Nychthemeron from the moment when the sun arrives on the plane of the meridian till the same moment of the following day. This is an intermediate view. Therefore their Nychthemera begin from the visible half of the plane of the meridian. Upon this system they have built their calculation in the astronomical tables (the Canons), and have thereby derived the places of the stars, along with their equal motions and their corrected places, in the almanacks (*lit.* year-books). Other astronomers prefer the invisible half of the plane of the meridian, and begin, therefore, their day at midnight, as *e.g.* the author of the Canon (Zîj) of Shahriyârân Shâh. This does not alter the case, as both methods are based upon the same principle.

People were induced to prefer the meridian to the horizon by many circumstances. One was, that they had discovered that the Nychthemera vary, and are not always of the same length; a variation which, during the eclipses, is clearly apparent even to the senses.

The reason of this variation is the fact that the course of the sun in the ecliptic varies, it being accelerated one time and retarded another; and that the single sections of the ecliptic cross the circles (the horizons)

at a different rate of velocity. Therefore, in order to remove that variation which attaches to the Nychthemera, they wanted some kind of equation; and the equation of the Nychthemera by means of the rising of the ecliptic above the meridian is constant and regular everywhere on the earth, because this circle is one of the horizons of the p. 7.
globe which form a right angle (with the meridian); and because its conditions and qualities remain the same in every part of the earth. This quality they did not find in the horizontal circles, for they vary for each place; and every latitude has a particular horizon of its own, different from that of any other place, and because the single sections of the ecliptic cross the horizons at a different rate of velocity. To use the horizons (for the equation of the Nychthemera) is a proceeding both imperfect and intricate.

Another reason why they preferred the meridian to the horizon is this, that the distances between the meridians of different places correspond to the distances of their meridians on the equator and the parallel circles; whilst the distances between the horizontal circles are the same with the addition of their northern and southern declination. An accurate description of everything connected with stars and their places is not possible, except by means of that direction which depends upon the meridian. This direction is called "longitude," which has nothing in common with the other direction, which depends upon the horizon, and is called "latitude."

Therefore they have chosen that circle which might serve as a regular and constant basis of their calculations, and have not used others; although, if they had wished to use the horizons, it would have been possible, and would have led them to the same results as the meridian, but only after a long and roundabout process. And it is the greatest mistake possible purposely to deviate from the direct route in order to go by a long roundabout.

Day, Night, and the Duration of the Day of Fast.—This is the general definition of the day which we give, the night being included. Now, if we proceed to divide and to distinguish, we have to state that the words "*Yaum*" (day) in its restricted signification, and "*Nahâr*" (day), mean the same, viz., the time from the rising of the body of the sun till its setting. On the other hand, *night* means the time from the setting of the body of the sun till its rising. Thus these two terms are used among all nations by general consent, nobody disputing their meanings, except one Muslim lawyer, who has defined the beginning of the day to be the rise of dawn, and its end to be the setting of the sun, because he presumed that the day and the duration of fasting were identical. For this view of his he argues from the following word of God (Sûra ii. 183): "Eat and drink till you can distinguish a white thread from a black thread at the light of *dawn*. Thereupon fast the entire day till the *night*." Now, he has maintained that these two terms

(*dawn* and *night*) are the two limits of the day (*beginning* and *end*). Between this view, however, and this verse of the Coran there is not the slightest connection whatsoever. For if the beginning of fasting was identical with the beginning of the day, his (God's) definition of something that is quite evident and well known to everybody, in such terms, would be like a pains-taking attempt to explain something void of sense. Likewise he has not defined the end of day and the beginning of night in similar terms, because this is generally known among all mankind. God orders that fasting should commence *at the rise of dawn*; but the end of fasting he does not describe in a similar way, but simply says that it should end at "*night*," because everybody knows that this means the time when the globe of the sun disappears. Hence it is evident that God, by the words of the first sentence (*i.e.* eat and drink till you can distinguish a white thread from a black thread at the light of dawn), does not mean the beginning of day.

A further proof of the correctness of our interpretation is the word of God (Sûra ii. 183): "It has been declared as lawful to you during the
p. 8. night of fasting to have intercourse (*lit.* to speak obscene things) with your wives," &c., to the passage, "Thereupon fast the entire day till the night." Thereby he extends the right of having intercourse with one's wife, and of eating and drinking, over a certain limited time, not over the entire night. Likewise it had been forbidden to Muslims, before this verse had been revealed, to eat and drink after night-prayer (the time when the darkness of night commences). And still people did not reckon their fasting by days and parts of the night, but simply by days (although the time of fasting was much longer than the day).

Now, if people say that God, in this verse (Sûra ii. 183), wanted to teach mankind the beginning of the day, it would necessarily follow that before that moment they were ignorant of the beginning of day and night, which is simply absurd.

Now, if people say the *legal* day is different from the *natural* day, this is nothing but a difference in words, and the calling something by a name, which, according to the usage of the language, means something else. And, besides, it must be considered that there is not the slightest mention in the verse of the day and of its beginning. We keep, however, aloof from pertinacious disputation on this subject, and we are willing to agree with our opponents as to the expressions if they will agree with us regarding the subject-matter.

And how could we believe a thing the contrary of which is evident to our senses? For evening-twilight in the west corresponds to morning-dawn in the east; both arise from the same cause, and are of the same nature. If, therefore, the rise of morning-dawn were the beginning of the day, the disappearance of evening-twilight would be its end. And actually some Shiites have been compelled to adopt such a doctrine.

Let us take it for granted that those who do not agree with us

regarding that which we have previously explained, agree with us as to the fact that twice a year night and day are equal—once in spring and once in autumn. Further, that he thinks, like us, that we have the longest day when the sun stands nearest to the north pole; the shortest day when the sun is at the greatest distance from the north pole; that the shortest summer night is equal to the shortest winter day; and that the same meaning is expressed by the two verses of the Coran: "God makes night enter into day, and he makes day enter into night" (Sûra xxxv. 14), and "He wraps night around day, and he wraps day around night" (Sûra xxxix. 7). Now, if they do not know this, or pretend not to know it, at all events they cannot help admitting that the first half of the day is six hours long, and likewise the latter half. Against this they cannot pretend to be blind, because of the well known and well authenticated tradition which relates to the prerogatives of those who hasten to the mosque on a Friday, and which shows that their wages are the highest, although their time of work in the six hours from the beginning of the day till the time of the decline of the sun is the shortest. This is to be understood of the *Horæ temporales obliquæ* (*ὧραι καιρικαί*), not of the *Horæ rectæ*, which are also called *æquinoctiales* (*ὧραι ἰσημεριναί*).

Now, if we should comply with their wish, and acknowledge their assertions as truth, we should have to believe that an equinox takes place when the sun moves on either side of the winter solstice (i.e. near to the point of the winter-solstice either arriving there or leaving it); that this takes place only in some parts of the earth to the exclusion of others; that the winter night is not equal to the summer day, and that noon is not then when the sun reaches the midst between his rising and p. 9. setting points. Whilst just the contrary of these necessary inferences from their theory is the conclusion generally accepted even by those who have only a slight insight into the matter. That, however, similar absurdities must follow out of their reasoning he only will thoroughly comprehend who is to some degree acquainted with the motions of the (celestial) globes.

If somebody will stick to what people say at dawn-rise, "*morning has come, night has gone;*" what is he to think of what they say when the sun is near setting, and becomes yellow—"evening has come, day has gone, night has come?" Such expressions merely indicate the approaching, the advancing, and the receding of the precise time in which people just happen to be. These phrases are to be explained as metaphors and metonymics. They are allowed in the usage of the language, *cf. e.g.* the word of God (Sûra xvi. 1): "The order of God has come; therefore do not *hurry* it."

Another argument in favour of our view is the following saying, which is attributed to the Prophet, to whom and to whose family may God be merciful: "The prayer of the day is silent." And the fact that

people call the noon-prayer the "first" prayer, because it is the first of the two daily prayers; whilst they call the afternoon-prayer the "middle" prayer, because it is in the midst, between the first of the two daily prayers and the first of the prayers of the night.

My only object in all I have discussed in this place is to refute the opinion of those who think that those things which are necessary for certain philosophical or physical causes prove the contrary of that which is indicated by the Coran, and who try to support their opinion by the doctrine of one of the lawyers and commentators of the Coran. God helps to the right insight!

CHAPTER II.

ON THE NATURE OF THAT WHICH IS COMPOSED OF DAYS, VIZ., MONTHS AND YEARS.

I SAY: Year means one revolution of the sun in the ecliptic, moving in a direction opposite to that of the universal motion, and returning to the same point which has been assumed as the starting-point of *his* motion, whichsoever point this may be. In this way the sun includes in his course the four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, winter, and their four different natures; and returns always to the point whence he commenced.

According to Ptolemy these revolutions are equal, because he did not find that the apogee of the sun moves; whilst they are unequal according to the authors of Sindhind and the modern astronomers, because their observations led them to think that the apogee of the sun movee. In each case, however, whether they be equal or different, these revolutions include the four seasons and their natures.

As to the length of such a revolution in days and fractions of a day, the results of the astronomical observations do not agree, but differ considerably. According to some observations it is larger; according to others less. However, in a short space of time this difference scarcely becomes perceptible; but in the long run of time, when this difference is being redoubled and multiplied many times, and is then summed up into a whole, a very great error becomes clearly manifest, on account of which the sages have strongly recommended us to continue making observations, and to guard against errors which possibly might have entered into them. p. 10.

The difference of the observations regarding the length of one annual revolution of the sun does not arise from this cause, that people do not know how properly to institute such observations, and to gain thereby an accurate knowledge of the real state of the thing; but from this cause, that it is impossible to fix the parts of the greatest circle by

means of the parts of the smallest circle. I refer to the smallness of the instruments of observations in comparison with the vastness of the bodies which are to be observed. On this subject I have enlarged in my book, called *Kitâb-alistishhâd bikhtilâf-al'arṣâd*.

During this time, *i.e.* during one revolution of the sun in the ecliptic, the moon completes a little less than $12\frac{1}{3}$ revolutions, and has 12 lunations. This space of time, *i.e.* the 12 revolutions of the moon in the ecliptic, is, technically, the lunar year, in which the fraction (beyond the 12 revolutions), which is nearly 11 days, is disregarded. The same fact, further, is the reason why the ecliptic was divided into 12 equal parts, as I have explained in my book on the investigation of rays and lights; the same which I had the honour to present to His Highness. May God increase his majesty!

In consequence, people distinguish two kinds of years—the Solar year and the Lunar year. They have not used other stars for the purpose of deriving years from them, because their motions are comparatively hidden, and can hardly ever be found out by eyesight; but only by astronomical observations and experiments. Further (they used only sun and moon for this purpose), because the changes of the particles of the elements and their mutual metamorphoses, as far as time and the state of the air, plants and animals, etc., are concerned, depend entirely upon the motions of these two celestial bodies, because they are the greatest of all, and because they excel the other stars by their light and appearance; and because they resemble each other. Afterwards people derived from these two kinds of years other years.

The Solar Year.—According to the statement of Theon, in his Canon, the people of Constantinople, and of Alexandria, and the other Greeks, the Syrians and Chaldæans, the Egyptians of our time, and those who have adopted the year of Almu'ta-did-billâh, all use the solar year, which consists of nearly $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. They reckon their year as 365 days, and add the quarters of a day in every fourth year as one complete day, when it has summed up thereto. This year they call an intercalary year, because the quarters are intercalated therein. The ancient Egyptians followed the same practice, but with this difference, that they neglected the quarters of a day till they had summed up to the number of days of one complete year, which took place in 1,460 years; then they intercalated one year, and agreed with the people of Alexandria and Constantinople as to the beginning of the year. So Theon Alexandrinus relates.

The Persians followed the same rule as long as their empire lasted;
p. 11. but they treated it differently. For they reckoned their year as 365 days, and neglected the following fractions until the day-quarters had summed up in the course of 120 years to the number of days of one complete month, and until the fifth parts of an hour, which, according to their opinion, follow the fourth parts of a day (*i.e.* they give the

solar year the length of 365¼ days and ⅛ hour), had summed up to one day; then they added the complete month to the year in each 116th year. This was done for a reason which I shall explain hereafter.

The example of the Persians was followed by the ancient inhabitants of Khwârizm and Sogdiana, and by all who had the same religion as the Persians, who were subject to them, and were considered as their kinsmen, during the time when their empire flourished.

I have heard that the Pêshdâdian kings of the Persians, those who ruled over the entire world, reckoned the year as 360 days, and each month as 30 days, without any addition and subtraction; that they intercalated one month in every sixth year, which they called "intercalary month," and two months in every 120th year; the one on account of the five days (the Epagomenæ), the other on account of the quarter of a day; that they held this year in high honour, and called it the "blessed year," and that in it they occupied themselves with the affairs of divine worship and matters of public interest.

The character of the system of the ancient Egyptians, according to what the Almagest relates regarding the years on which its own system of computation was based, and of the systems of the Persians in Islâm, and the people of Khwârizm and Sogdiana, as their aversion to the fractions, *i.e.* the ¼ day and what follows it, and their neglecting them altogether.

The Luni-Solar Year.—The Hebrews, Jews, and all the Israelites, the Sâbians, and Ḥarrânians, used an intermediate system. They derived their year from the revolution of the sun, and its months from the revolution of the moon—with this view, that their feast and fast days might be regulated by lunar computation, and at the same time keep their places within the year. Therefore they intercalated 7 months in 19 lunar years, as I shall explain hereafter in the derivation of their cycles and the different kinds of their years.

The Christians agreed with them in the mode of the computation of their fasting and of some of their festivals, the cardinal point in all this being the Passover of the Jews; but they differed from them in the use of the months, wherein they followed the system of the Greeks and Syrians.

In a similar way the heathen Arabs proceeded, observing the difference between their year and the solar year, which is 10 days 21⅛ hours, to speak roughly, and adding it to the year as one month as soon as it completed the number of days of a month. They, however, reckoned this difference as 10 days and 20 hours. This business was administered by the *Nasa'a* (the intercalators) of the tribe of Kinâna, known as the *Ḳalâmis*, a plural form of *Ḳalammas*, which signifies *a full-flowing sea*. These were 'Abû Thumâma and his ancestors: p. 12.

I. 'Abû Thumâma Junâda ben
'Auf ben
'Umayya ben
Kala' ben

V. 'Abbâd ben
Kala' ben
VII. Ḥudhaifa.

They were all of them intercalators. The first of them who held this office was—

VII. Ḥudhaifa ben
'Ahd ben
Fuḳaim ben
X. 'Adiyy ben
'Âmir ben
Tha'laba ben
Mâlik ben
XIV. Kinâna.

The last of them, who held it, was 'Abû-Thumâma. The poet, who celebrates them, describes him in the following terms:—

"There is Fuḳaim! He was called Alḳalammas,
And he was one of the founders of their religion,
His word being obeyed, he being recognised as a chieftain."

And another poet says:

"(He was) famous among the forerunners of Kinâna,
A celebrated man, of exalted rank.
In this way he spent his time."

Another poet says:

"The difference between the revolution of the sun and new-moon
He adds together and sums it up,
Till it makes out a complete month."

He (*i.e.* Ḥudhaifa) had taken this system of intercalation from the Jews nearly 200 years before Islâm; the Jews, however, intercalated 9 months in 24 lunar years. In consequence their months were fixed, and came always in at their proper times, wandering in a uniform course through the year without retrograding and without advancing. This state of things remained till the Prophet made his Farewell pilgrimage, and the following verse was revealed to him: "Intercalation is only an increase of infidelity, by which the infidels lead astray (people), admitting it one year and prohibiting it in another." (Sûra ix. 37.) The Prophet delivered an address to the people, and said: "Time has come round as it was on the day of God's creating the heavens and the earth," and, continuing, he recited to them the (just mentioned) verse of the Coran on the prohibition of the *Nasî'*, *i.e.* intercalation. Ever since they have neglected intercalation, so that their months have receded from their original places, and the names of the months are no longer in conformity with their original meanings.

As to the other nations, their opinions on this subject are well known. They are likely to have no other systems besides those we have mentioned, and each nation seems to follow the example of the system of their neighbours.

Years of the Indians.—I have heard that the Indians use the appearance of new-moon in their months, that they intercalate one lunar month in every 976 days, and that they fix the beginning of their era to the moment when a conjunction takes place in the first minute of any p. 13. zodiacal sign. The chief object of their searching is that this conjunction should take place in one of the two equinoctial points. The leap-year they call *Adhimása*. It is very possible that this is really the case; because, of all stars, they use specially the moon, her mansions and their subdivisions, in their astrological determinations, and not the zodiacal signs. However, I have not met with anybody who had an accurate knowledge of this subject; therefore I turn away from what I cannot know for certain. And God is my help!

'Abû-Muḥammad Alnâ'ib Alâmulî relates in his *Kitâb-alghurra*, on the authority of Yaʿḳûb ben Ṭârik, that the Indians use four different kinds of spaces of time:

I. One revolution of the sun, starting from a point of the ecliptic and returning to it. This is the solar year.

II. 360 risings of the sun. This is called the middle-year, because it is longer than the lunar year and shorter than the solar year.

III. 12 revolutions of the moon, starting from the star *Alsharaṭân* (*i.e.* the head of Aries) and returning to it. This is their lunar year, which consists of 327 days and nearly 7¾ hours.

IV. 12 lunations. This is the lunar year, which they use.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE NATURE OF THE ERAS, AND THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS OF THE NATIONS REGARDING THEM.

Era means a definite space of time, reckoned from the beginning of some past year, in which either a prophet, with signs and wonders, and with a proof of his divine mission, was sent, or a great and powerful king rose, or in which a nation perished by a universal destructive deluge, or by a violent earthquake and sinking of the earth, or a sweeping pestilence, or by intense drought, or in which a change of dynasty or religion took place, or any grand event of the celestial and the famous telluric miraculous occurrences, which do not happen save at long intervals and at times far distant from each other. By such events the fixed moments of time (the *epochs*) are recognised. Now, such an era cannot be dispensed with in all secular and religious affairs. Each of the nations scattered over the different parts of the world has a special era, which they count from the times of their kings or prophets, or dynasties, or of some of those events which we have just now mentioned. And thence they derive the dates, which they want in social intercourse, in chronology, and in every institute (*i.e.* festivals) which is exclusively peculiar to them.

Era of the Creation.—The first and most famous of the beginnings of antiquity is the fact of the creation of mankind. But among those who have a book of divine revelation, such as the Jews, Christians, Magians, and their various sects, there exists such a difference of opinion as to the nature of this fact, and as to the question how to date
p. 14. from it, the like of which is not allowable for eras. Everything, the knowledge of which is connected with the beginning of creation and with the history of bygone generations, is mixed up with falsifications and myths, because it belongs to a far remote age; because a long interval separates us therefrom, and because the student is incapable of

keeping it in memory, and of fixing it (so as to preserve it from confusion). God says: "Have they not got the stories about those who were before them? None but God knows them." (Sûra ix. 71.) Therefore it is becoming not to admit any account of a similar subject, if it is not attested by a book, the correctness of which is relied upon, or by a tradition, for which the conditions of authenticity, according to the prevalent opinion, furnish grounds of proof.

If we now first consider this era, we find a considerable divergence of opinion regarding it among these nations. For the Persians and Magians think that the duration of the world is 12,000 years, corresponding to the number of the signs of the zodiac and of the months; and that Zoroaster, the founder of their law, thought that of those there had passed, till the time of his appearance, 3,000 years, intercalated with the day-quarters; for he himself had made their computation, and had taken into account that defect, which had accrued to them on account of the day-quarters, till the time when they were intercalated and were made to agree with real time. From his appearance till the beginning of the Æra Alexandri, they count 258 years; therefore they count from the beginning of the world till Alexander 3,258 years. However, if we compute the years from the creation of Gayômarth, whom they hold to be the first man, and sum up the years of the reign of each of his successors—for the rule (of Iran) remained with his descendants without interruption—this number is, for the time till Alexander, the sum total of 3,354 years. So the specification of the single items of the addition does not agree with the sum total.

Further, the Persians and Greeks disagree as to the time after Alexander. For they count from Alexander till the beginning of the reign of Yazdajird 942 years 257 days. If we deduct therefrom the duration of the rule of the Sasanian kings as far as the beginning of the reign of Yazdajird, as they compute it, viz., nearly 415 years, we get a remainder of 528 years as the time during which Alexander and the *Mulûk-al-ṭawâ'if* reigned. But if we sum up the years of the reign of each of the Ashkanian kings, as they have settled it, we got only the sum of 280 years, or,—taking into regard their difference of opinion as to the length of the reign of each of them,—the sum of not more than 300 years. This difference I shall hereafter try to settle to some extent.

A section of the Persians is of opinion that those past 3,000 years which we have mentioned are to be counted from the creation of Gayômarth; because, before that, already 6,000 years had elapsed—a time during which the celestial globe stood motionless, the natures (of created beings) did not interchange, the elements did not mix—during p.15. which there was no growth, and no decay, and the earth was not cultivated. Therenpon, when the celestial globe was set a-going, the first man came into existence on the equator, so that part of him in longitudinal direction was on the north, and part south of the line. The animals

were produced, and mankind commenced to reproduce their own species and to multiply; the atoms of the elements mixed, so as to give rise to growth and decay; the earth was cultivated, and the world was arranged in conformity with fixed norms.

The Jews and Christians differ widely on this subject; for, according to the doctrine of the Jews, the time between Adam and Alexander is 3,448 years, whilst, according to the Christian doctrine, it is 5,180 years. The Christians reproach the Jews with having diminished the number of years with the view of making the appearance of Jesus fall into the fourth millennium in the middle of the seven millennia, which are, according to their view, the time of the duration of the world, so as not to coincide with that time at which, as the prophets after Moses had prophesied, the birth of Jesus from a pure virgin at the end of time, was to take place. Both parties depend, in their bringing forward of arguments, upon certain modes of interpretation derived from the *Ḥisâb-al-jummal*. So the Jews expect the coming of the Messiah who was promised to them at the end of 1,335 years after Alexander, expecting it like something which they know for certain. In consequence of which many of the pseudo-prophets of their sects, as *e.g.* Al-râ'î, 'Abû-Îsâ Al-isfahânî, and others, claimed to be his messengers to them. This expectation was based on the assumption that the beginning of this era (Æra Alexandri) coincided with the time when the sacrifices were abolished, when no more divine revelation was received, and no more prophets were sent. Then they referred to the Hebrew word of God in the 5th book of the Thora (Deut. xxxi. 18), אנכי הסתר אסתיר פני מהם ביום ההוא, which means: "I, God, shall conceal *my being* till that day." And they counted the letters of the words הסתר אסתיר, the word for "concealing," which gives the sum of 1,335. This they declared to be the time during which no inspiration from heaven was received and the sacrifices were abolished, which is meant by God's *concealing himself*. The word "*being*" (פני=נגד) is here synonymous with "affair" (or "order, command"). In order to support what they maintain, they quote two passages in the Book of Daniel (xii. 11): מעת הוסר התמיד ולרות שקוץ שמם ימים אלף ומאתים ושׁשׁים, which means: "Since the time when the sacrifice was abolished until impurity comes to destruction it is 1,290." and the next following passage (Dan. xii. 12): אשרי המחכה ויגיע לימים אלף ושלוש מאות ושלשים וחמשה which means: "Therefore happy he who hopes to reach to 1,335." Some people explain the difference of forty-five years in these two passages so as to refer
p. 16. the former date (1,290) to the beginning of the rebuilding of Jerusalem; and the latter (1,335) to the time when the rebuilding would be finished. According to others, the first number is the date of the birth of Messiah, whilst the latter is the date of his public appearance. Further, the Jews say, when Jacob bestowed his blessing upon Judah (Gen. xlix. 10), he

informed him that the rule should always remain with his sons till the time of the coming of him to whom the rule belongs. So in these words he told him that the rule should remain with his descendants until the appearance of the expected Messiah. And now the Jews add that this is really the case; that the rule has not been taken from them. For the ראש גלותא *i.e.* "the head of the exiles" who had been banished from their homes in Jerusalem, is the master of every Jew in the world; the ruler whom they obey in all countries, whose order is carried out under most circumstances.

The Christians use certain Syriac words, viz., ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܩܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܢܨܝ, which mean "Jesus, the Messiah, the greatest redeemer." Computing the value of the letters of these words, they get the sum of 1,335. Now, they think that it was these words which Daniel meant to indicate by those numbers, not the above-mentioned years; because in the text of his words they are nothing but numbers, without any indication whether they mean years, or days, or something else. It is a prophecy indicative of the name of the Messiah, not of the time of his coming. Further, they relate that Daniel once dreamt in Babylonia, some years after the accession of Cyrus to the throne, on the 24th of the first month, when he had prayed to God, and when the Israelites were the prisoners of the Persians. Then God revealed to him the following (Dan. ix. 24–26): "'Ûrishlîm, *i.e.* Jerusalem, will be rebuilt 70 *Sâbû'*, and will remain in the possession of thy people. Then the Messiah will come, but he will be killed. And in consequence of his coming 'Ûrishlîm will undergo its last destruction, and it will remain a ruin till the end of time." The word *Sâbû'* (Hebrew שָׁבוּעַ) means a *Septennium*. Now, of the whole time (indicated in this passage) seven Septennia refer to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which time is also mentioned in the Book of Zekharyâ ben Berekhyâ hen 'Iddô' (Zechariah iv. 2): "I have beheld a candlestick with seven lamps thereon, and with seven pipes to each lamp." And before this he says (iv. 9): "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house, his hands also shall finish it." The time from the beginning of his rebuilding of the house (*i.e.* Jerusalem) till its end is 49 years, or 7 Septennia. Then, after 62 Septennia, they think, Jesus the son of Mary came; and in the last Septennium the sacrifices and offerings were abolished, and Jerusalem underwent its above-mentioned destruction, insomuch that no more divine revelation nor prophets were sent, as the Israelites were scattered all over the world, utterly neglected, not practising their sacrifices, nor having a p. 17. place where to practise them.

In respect of all we have mentioned, each of the two parties makes assertions which they cannot support by anything but interpretations derived from the *Hisâb-al-jummal*, and fallacious subtilties. If the student would try to establish something else by the same means, and refute what they (each of the two parties) maintain, by similar arguments,

it would not be difficult for him to search for them. As to what the Jews think of the continuance of the rule in the family of Juda, and which they transfer to the leadership of the exiles, we must remark that, if it was correct to extend the word "*rule*" to a similar leadership by way of analogy, the Magians, the Sabians, and others would partake of this, and neither the other Israelites nor any other nation would be exempt therefrom. Because no class of men, not even the lowest, are without a sort of rule and leadership with relation to others who are still inferior to them.

If we referred the numerical value of the word "*concealing*" in the Thora to that period from the earliest date which the Israelites assign to their exodus from Egypt till Jesus the son of Mary, this interpretation would rest on a better foundation. For the time from their exodus from Egypt till the accession of Alexander is 1,000 years according to their own view; and Jesus the son of Mary was born Anno Alexandri 304, and God raised him to himself Anno Alexandri 336. So the sum of the years of this complete period is 1,335 as the time during which the law of Moses ben 'Imrân existed, till it was carried to perfection by Jesus the son of Mary.

As to that which they derive from the two passages of Daniel, we can only say that it would be possible to refer them to something different, and to explain them in a different way; and more than that—that neither of their modes of interpretation is correct, except we suppose that the beginning of that number *precedes* the time when they were pronounced (by Daniel). For if it is to be understood that the beginning of both numbers (1,290 and 1,335) is one and the same time, be it past, present, or future, you cannot reasonably explain why the two passages should have been pronounced at different times. And, not to speak of the difference between the two numbers (1,290 and 1,335) the matter can in no way be correct; because the second passage ("Happy he who hopes to reach 1,335") admits, first, that the beginning of the number precedes the time when the passage was pronounced; so that it (the number) may reach its end one year, or more or less, after the supposed time; secondly, that the beginning of that number may be the very identical time when the passage was pronounced; or, thirdly, that it may be *after* this moment by an indefinite time, which may be smaller or greater. Now, if a chronological statement may be referred to all three spheres of time (past, present, and future), it cannot be referred to any one of them except on the basis of a clear text or an indisputable argument.

The first passage ("Since the time when the sacrifice was abolished, until impurity comes to destruction, it is 1,290") admits likewise of being referred, first, to the first destruction of Jerusalem; and, secondly, to
p. 18. ite second destruction, which happened, however, only 385 years after the accession of Alexander.

Therefore the Jews have not the slightest reason to commence (in their calculations as to the coming of the Messiah) with that date with which they have commenced (viz., the epoch of the Æra Alexandri).

These are doubts and difficulties which beset the assertions of the Jews. Those, however, which attach to the schemes of the Christians are even more numerous and conspicuous. For even if the Jews granted to them that the coming of Messiah was to take place 70 *Septennia* after the vision of Daniel, we must remark that the appearance of Jesus the son of Mary did not take place at that time. The reason is this:—The Jews have agreed to fix the interval between the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt and the Æra Alexandri at 1,000 complete years. From passages in the books of the Prophets they have inferred that the interval between the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt and the building of Jerusalem is 480 years; and the interval between the building and the destruction by Nebucadnezar 410 years; and that it remained in a ruined state 70 years. Now this gives the sum of 960 years (after the exodus from Egypt) as the date for the vision of Daniel, and as a remainder of the above-mentioned millennium (from the exodus till Æra Alexandri) 40 years. Further, Jews and Christians unanimously suppose that the birth of Jesus the son of Mary took place Anno Alexandri 304. Therefore, if we use their own chronology, the birth of Jesus the son of Mary took place 344 years after the vision of Daniel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, *i.e* about 49 Septennia. From his birth till the time when he began preaching in public are $4\frac{1}{2}$ Septennia more. Hence it is evident that the birth (of Jesus) precedes the date which they have assumed (as the time of the birth of the Messiah).

For the Jews there follow no such consequences from their chronological system; and if the Christians should accuse the Jews of telling lies regarding the length of the period between the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the epoch of the Æra Alexandri, the Jews would meet them with similar accusations, and more than that.

If we leave aside the arguments of the two parties, and consider the table of the Chaldæan kings, which we shall hereafter explain, we find the interval between the beginning of the reign of Cyrus and that of the reign of Alexander to be 222 years, and from the latter date till the birth of Jesus 304 years; so that the sum total is 526 years. If we now deduct therefrom 3 years, for the rebuilding (of Jerusalem) commenced in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, and if we reduce the remainder to Septennia, we get nearly 75 Septennia for the interval between the vision (of Daniel) and the birth of Messiah. Therefore the birth of Messiah is later than the date which they (the Christians) have assumed.

If the Christians compute the Syriac words (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܠܥܠܡ), and believe that because of the identity of their numerical value with the number (1,335, mentioned by Daniel), these words were meant

(by Daniel) and not a certain number of years, we can only say that we cannot accept such an opinion except it be confirmed by an argument as indubitable as ocular inspection. For if you computed the numerical value of the following words: نجاة الخلق من الكفر بمحمد (*"the deliverance of the creation from infidelity by Muḥammad"*), you would get the sum of 1,335. Or if you computed the words بشر موسى بن عمران
p. 19. بمحمد والمسيح باحمد (*"the prophecy of Moses ben 'Imrân regarding Muḥammad; the prophecy of the Messiah regarding 'Aḥmad"*), you would get the same sum, *i.e.* 1,335. Likewise, if you counted these words: يشرق فيرقه فاران بمحمد الامي (*"The plain of Fârân shines with the illiterate Muḥammad"*), you would again get the same sum (1,335). If, now, a man asserts that these numbers are meant to indicate a prophecy on account of the identity of the numerical values of these phrases with that of the Syriac words (محمد طهيسا ضيصا نصا), the value of his argument would be exactly the same as that of the Christians regarding those passages (in Daniel), the one case closely resembling the other, even if he should produce as a testimony for Muḥammad and the truth of the prophecy regarding him a passage of the prophet Isaiah, of which the following is the meaning, or like it (Isaiah xxi. 6–9): *"God ordered him to set a watchman on the watchtower, that he might declare what he should see. Then he said: I see a man riding on an ass, and a man riding on a camel. And the one of them came forward crying and speaking: Babylon is fallen, and its graven images are broken."* This is a prophecy regarding the Messiah, *"the man riding on an ass,"* and regarding Muḥammad, *"the man riding on a camel,"* because in consequence of his appearance Babylon has fallen, its idols have been broken, its castles have been shattered, and its empire has perished. There are many passages in the book of the prophet Isaiah, predicting Muḥammad, being rather hints (than clearly out-spoken words), but easily admitting of a clear interpretation. And with all this, their obstinacy in clinging to their error induces them to devise and to maintain things which are not acknowledged by men in general, viz.: that *"the man riding on the camel,"* is Moses, not Muḥammad. But what connection have Mosse and his people with Babel? And did that happen to Moses and to his people after him, which happened to Muḥammad and his companions in Babel? By no means! If they (the Jews) had one after the other escaped from the Babylonians, they would have considered it a sufficient prize to carry off to return (to their country), even though in a desperate condition.

This testimony (Isaiah xxi. 6–9) is confirmed by the word of God to Moses in the fifth book of the Thora, called *Almathnâ* (Deuteronomy xviii. 18, 19): *"I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my word into his mouth. And he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And whosoever will not hearken unto the word of him who speaks in my name, I shall take revenge on him."* Now I should like to know whether there are other brethren of the sons

of Isaac, except the sons of Ishmael. If they say, that the brethren of the sons of Israel are the children of Esau, we ask only: Has there then risen among them a man like Moses—in the times after Moses—of the same description and resembling him? Does not also the following passage of the same book, of which this is the translation (Deut. xxxiii. 2), bear testimony for Muḥammad: "*The Lord came from Mount Sinai, and rose up unto us from Seir, and he shined forth from Mount Paran, accompanied by ten thousand of saints at his right hand!*" The terms of this passage are hints for the establishing of the proof, that the (anthropomorphic) descriptions, which are inherent in them, cannot be referred to the essence of the Creator, nor to his qualities, he being high above such things. His coming from Mount Sinai means his secret conversation with Moses there; his rising up from Seir means the appearance of Messiah, and his shining forth from Paran, where Ishmael grew up and married, means the coming of Muḥammad from thence as the last of all the founders of religions, accompanied by legions of saints, who were sent down from heaven to help, being marked with certain badges. He who refuses to accept this interpretation, for which all evidence has borne testimony, is required to prove what kinds of mistakes there are in it. "*But he whose companion is Satan, woe to him for such a companion!*" (Sûra iv. 42.) p. 20.

Now, if the Christians do not allow us to use the numerical values of Arabic words, we cannot allow them to do the same with the Syriac words which they quote, because the Thora and the books of those prophets were revealed in the Hebrew language. All they have brought forward, and all we are going to propound, is a decisive proof, and a clear argument, showing that the words in the holy books have been altered from their proper meanings, and that the text has undergone modifications contrary to its original condition. Having recourse to this sort of computing, and of using false witnesses, shows and proves to evidence, that their authors purposely deviate from the path of truth and righteousness. If we could open them a door in heaven, and they ascended thereby, they would say: "*Our eyes are only drunken. Nay, we are fascinated people.*" (Sûra xv. 15.) But such is not the case. The fact is that they are blind to the truth. We pray to God, that he may help and strengthen us, that he may guard us against sin, and lead us by the right path.

As to the doctrine of abrogation (of one holy book by another), and as to their fanciful pretension of having passages of the Thora which order him who claims to be a prophet after Moses to be put to death, we must state, that the groundlessness of these opinions is rendered evident by other passages of the Thora. However, there are more suitable places to speak of these opinions than this, and so we return to our subject, as we have already become lengthy in our exposition, one matter drawing us to another.

Now I proceed to state that both Jews and Christians have a copy of the Thora, the contents of which agree with the doctrines of either sect. Of the Jewish copy people think that it is comparatively free from confusion. The Christian copy is called the "*Thora of the Seventy*," for the following reason: After Nebukadnezar had conquered and destroyed Jerusalem, part of the Israelites emigrated from their country, took refuge with the king of Egypt, and lived there under his protection till the time when Ptolemæus Philadelphus ascended the throne. This king heard of the Thora, and of its divine origin. Therefore he gave orders to search for this community, and found them at last in a place numbering about 30,000 men. He afforded them protection, and took them into his favour, he treated them with kindness, and allowed them to return to Jerusalem, which in the meanwhile had been rebuilt by Cyrus, Bahman's governor of Babel, who had also revived the culture of Syria. They left Egypt, accompanied by a body of his (Ptolemæus Philadelphus') servants for their protection. The king said to them: "I want to ask you for something. If you grant me the favour, you acquit yourselves of all obligations towards me. Let me have a copy of your book, the Thora." This the Jews promised, and confirmed their promise by an oath. Having arrived at Jerusalem, they fulfilled their promise by sending him a copy of it, *but* in Hebrew. He, however, did not know Hebrew. Therefore he addressed himself again to them asking for people who knew both Hebrew and Greek, who might translate the book for him, promising them gifts and presents in reward. Now the Jews selected seventy-two
p. 21. men out of their twelve tribes, six men of each tribe from among the Rabbis and priests. Their names are known among the Christians. These men translated the Thora into Greek, after they had been housed separately, and each couple had got a servant to take care of them. This went on till they had finished the translation of the whole book. Now the king had in his hands thirty-six translations. These he compared with each other, and did not find any differences in them, except those which always occur in the rendering of the same ideas. Then the king gave them what he had promised, and provided them with everything of the best. The Jews asked him to make them a present of one of those copies, of which they wished to make a boast before their own people. And the king complied with their wish. Now this is the copy of the Christians, and people think, that in it no alteration or transposition has taken place. The Jews, however, give quite a different account, viz. that they made the translation under compulsion, and that they yielded to the king's demand only from fear of violence and maltreatment, and not before having agreed upon inverting and confounding the text of the book. There is nothing in the report of the Christians which, even if we should take it for granted—removes our doubts (as to the authenticity of their Bible); on the contrary, there is something in it which strengthens them greatly.

Besides these two copies of the Thora, there is a third one that exists among the Samaritans, also known by the name of *Al-lâmasâsiyya*. To them, as the substitutes for the Jews, Nebucadnezar had given the country of Syria, when he led the Jews into captivity, and cleared the country of them. The Samaritans had helped him (in the war against the Jews), and had pointed out to him the weak points of the Israelites. Therefore, he did not disturb them, nor kill them, nor make them prisoners, but he made them inhabit Palestine under his protection.

Their doctrines are a syncretism of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. The bulk of their community is living in a town of Palestine, called *Nâbulus*, where they have their churches. They have never entered the precincts of Jerusalem since the days of David the prophet, because they maintain that he committed wrong and injustice, and transferred the holy temple from Nâbulus to *Aelia*, *i.e.* Jerusalem. They do not touch other people; but if they happen to be touched by anyone, they wash themselves. They do not acknowledge any of the prophets of the Israelites after Moses.

Now as to the copy which the Jews have, and on which they rely, we find that according to its account of the lives of the immediate descendants of Adam, the interval between the expulsion of Adam from Paradise till the deluge in the time of Noah, is 1,656 years; according to the Christian copy the same interval is 2,242 years, and according to the Samaritan copy it is 1,307 years. According to one of the historians, Anianus, the interval between the creation of Adam and the night of the Friday when the deluge commenced, is 2,226 years 23 days and 4 hours. This statement of Anianus is reported by Ibn-Albâzyâr in his *Kitâb-alkirânât* (Book of the Conjunctions); it comes very near that of the Christians. However, it makes me think that it is based upon the methods of the astrologers, because it betrays evidently an arbitrary and too subtle mode of research. p. 22.

Now, if such is the diversity of opinions, as we have described, and if there is no possibility of distinguishing—by means of analogy—between truth and fiction, where is the student to search for exact information?

Not only does the Thora exist in several and different copies, but something similar is the case with the Gospel too. For the Christians have four copies of the Gospel, being collected into one code, the first by Matthew, the second by Mark, the third by Luke, and the fourth by John; each of these four disciples having composed the Gospel in conformity with what he (Christ) had preached in his country. The reports, contained in these four copies, such as the descriptions of Messiah, the relations of him at the time when he preached and when he was crucified, as they maintain, differ very widely the one from the other. To begin with his genealogy, which is the genealogy of Joseph, the bridegroom of Mary

and step-father of Jesus. For according to Matthew (i. 2–16), his pedigree is this:—

I. Joseph.	Zorobabel.	Joram.	Salmon.
Jacob.	Salathiel.	Josaphat.	Naasson.
Matthan.	Jechonias.	Asa.	Aminadab.
Eleazar.	Josias.	Abia.	Aram.
V. Eliud.	XV. Amon.	XXV. Roboam.	XXXV. Esrom.
Achin.	Manasses.	Solomon.	Phares.
Zadok.	Ezekias.	David.	Judas.
Azor.	Ahaz.	Jesse.	Jacob.
Elyakim.	Joatham.	Obed.	Issac.
X. Abiud.	XX. Ozias.	XXX. Booz.	XL. Abraham.

Matthew in stating this genealogy commences with Abraham, tracing it downward (as far as Joseph). According to Luke (iii. 23–31) the pedigree of Joseph is this:—

I. Joseph.	Esli.	Salathiel.	Matthat.
Heli.	Nagge.	Neri.	Levi.
Matthat.	Maath.	Melchi.	Simeon.
Levi.	Mattathias.	Addi.	Juda.
V. Melchi.	XV. Semei.	XXV. Cosam.	XXXV. Joseph.
Janna	Joseph.	Elmodam.	Jonam.
Joseph.	Judas.	Er.	Elyakim.
Mattathias.	Joanna.	Joseph.	Melea.
Amos.	Rhesa.	Eliezer.	Menan.
X. Naum.	XX. Zorobabel.	XXX. Jorim.	XL. Matathâ.
			Nathan.
			XLII. David.

This difference the Christians try to excuse, and to account for it, saying, that there was one of the laws prescribed in the Thora which ordered that, if a man died, leaving behind a wife but no male children, the brother of the deceased was to marry her instead, in order to raise up a progeny to the deceased brother; that, in consequence, his children were *genealogically* referred to the deceased brother, whilst as *to real birth* they were the children of the living brother; that, therefore,
23. Joseph was referred to two different fathers, that Heli was his father *genealogically*, whilst Yakob was his father *in reality*. Further, they say, that when Matthew had stated the real pedigree of Joseph, the Jews blamed him for it, saying: "His pedigree is not correct, because it has been made without regard to his *genealogical* relation." In order to meet this reproach, Luke stated his pedigree in conformity with the genealogical ordinances of their code. Both pedigrees go back to David, and that was the object (in stating them), because it had been predicted of the Messiah, that he would be "the son of David."

Finally, the fact that only the pedigree of Joseph has been adduced

for Messiah, and not that of Mary, is to be explained in this way, that according to the law of the Israelites, nobody was allowed to marry any but a wife of his own tribe and clan, whereby they wanted to prevent confusion of the pedigrees, and that it was the custom to mention only the pedigrees of the men, not those of the women. Now Joseph and Mary being both of the same tribe, their descent must of necessity go back to the same origin. And this was the object in their statement and account of the pedigree.

Everyone of the sects of Marcion, and of Bardesanes, has a special Gospel, which in some parts differs from the Gospels we have mentioned. Also the Manichæans have a Gospel of their own, the contents of which from the first to the last are opposed to the doctrines of the Christians; but the Manichæans consider them as their religious law, and believe that it is the correct Gospel, that its contents are really that which Messiah thought and taught, that every other Gospel is false, and its followers are liars against Messiah. Of this Gospel there is a copy, called, "The Gospel of the Seventy," which is attributed to one *Balâmis*, and in the beginning of which it is stated, that Sallâm ben 'Abdallâh ben Sallâm wrote it down as he heard it from Salmân Alfârisî. He, however, who looks into it, will see at once that it is a forgery; it is not acknowledged by Christians and others. Therefore, we come to the conclusion, that among the Gospels there are no books of the Prophets to be found, on which you may with good faith rely.

Era of the Deluge.—The next following era is the era of the great deluge, in which everything perished at the time of Noah. Here, too, there is such a difference of opinions, and such a confusion, that you have no chance of deciding as to the correctness of the matter, and do not even feel inclined to investigate thoroughly its historical truth. The reason is, in the first instance, the difference regarding the period between the Æra Adami and the Deluge, which we have mentioned already; and secondly, that difference, which we shall have to mention, regarding the period between the Deluge and the Æra Alexandri. For the Jews derive from the Thora, and the following books, for this latter period 1,792 years, whilst the Christians derive from *their* Thora for the same period 2,938 years.

The Persians, and the great mass of the Magians, deny the Deluge altogether; they believe that the rule (of the world) has remained with them without any interruption ever since Gayômarth Gilshâh, who was, p. 24. according to them, the first man. In denying the Deluge, the Indians, Chinese, and the various nations of the east, concur with them. Some, however, of the Persians admit the fact of the Deluge, but they describe it in a different way from what it is described in the books of the prophets. They say, a partial deluge occurred in Syria and the west at the time of Tahmûrath, but it did not extend over the whole of the then civilized world, and only few nations were drowned in it; it did not

extend beyond the peak of Ḥulwân, and did not reach the empires of the east. Further, they relate, that the inhabitants of the west, when they were warned by their sages, constructed buildings of the kind of the two pyramids which have been built in Egypt, saying: "If the disaster comes from heaven, we shall go into them; if it comes from the earth, we shall ascend above them." People are of opinion, that the traces of the water of the Deluge, and the effects of the waves are still visible on these two pyramids half-way up, above which the water did not rise. Another report says, that Joseph had made them a magazine, where he deposited the bread and victuals for the years of drought.

It is related, that Tahmûrath on receiving the warning of the Deluge —231 years before the Deluge—ordered his people to select a place of good air and soil in his realm. Now they did not find a place that answered better to this description than Ispahân. Thereupon, he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for posterity, and to be buried in a part of that place, least exposed to obnoxious influences. In favour of this report we may state that in our time in Jay, the city of Ispahân, there have been discovered hills, which, on being excavated, disclosed houses, filled with many loads of that tree-bark, with which arrows and shields are covered, and which is called *Tûz*, bearing inscriptions, of which no one was able to say what they are, and what they mean.

These discrepancies in their reports inspire doubts in the student, and make him inclined to believe what is related in some books, viz. that Gayômarth was not the first man, but that he was Gomer ben Yaphet ben Noah, that he was a prince to whom a long life was given, that he settled on the Mount Dunbâwand, where he founded an empire, and that finally his power became very great, whilst mankind was still living in (elementary) conditions, similar to those at the time of the creation, and of the first stage of the development of the world. Then he, and some of his children, took possession of the *κλίματα* of the world. Towards the end of his life, he became tyrannical, and called himself Âdam, saying: "If anybody calls me by another name than this, I shall cut off his head." Others are of opinion that Gayômarth was Emîm (אֵימִים?) ben Lûd ben 'Arâm ben Sem ben Noah.

The astrologers have tried to correct these years, beginning from the first of the conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter, for which the sages among the inhabitants of Babel, and the Chaldæans have constructed astronomical tables, the Deluge having originated in their country. For people say, that Noah built the ark in Kûfa, and that it was there that "*the well poured forth its waters*" (Sûra xi. 42; xxiii. 27); that the ark rested upon the mountain of Aljûdî, which is not very far from those regions. Now this conjunction occurred 229 years 108 days before the Deluge. This date they studied carefully, and tried by that to correct
p. 25. the subsequent times. So they found as the interval between the Deluge and the beginning of the reign of the first Nebukadnezar (*Nabonassar*),

2,604 years, and as the interval between Nebukadnezar and Alexander 436 years, a result which comes pretty near to that one, which is derived from the Thora of the Christians.

This was the era which 'Abû-Ma'shar Albalkhî wanted, upon which to base his statements regarding the mean places of the stars in his Canon. Now he supposed that the Deluge had taken place at the conjunction of the stars in the last part of Pisces, and the first part of Aries, and he tried to compute their places for that time. Then he found, that they—all of them—stood in conjunction in the space between the twenty-seventh degree of Pisces, and the end of the first degree of Aries. Further, he supposed that between that time and the epoch of the Æra Alexandri, there is an interval of 2,790 intercalated years 7 months and 26 days. This computation comes near to that of the Christians, being 249 years and 8 months less than the estimate of the astronomers. Now, when he thought that he had well established the computation of this sum according to the method, which he has explained, and when he had arrived at the result, that the duration of those periods, which astronomers call "*star-cycles*," was 360,000 years, the beginning of which was to precede the time of the Deluge by 180,000 years, he drew the inconsiderate conclusion, that the Deluge had occurred once in every 180,000 years, and that it would again occur in future at similar intervals.

This man, who is so proud of his ingenuity, had computed these star-cycles only from the motions of the stars, as they had been fixed by the observations of the Persians; but they (the cycles) differ from the cycles, which have been based upon the observations of the Indians, known as the "*cycles of Sindhind*," and likewise they differ from the *days of Arjabhar*, and *the days of Arkand*. If anybody would construct such cycles on the basis of the observations of Ptolemy, or of the modern astronomers, he might do so by the help of the well known methods of such a calculation, as in fact many people have done, e.g. Muḥammad ben 'Isḥâḳ ben 'Uetâdh Bundâdh Alsarakhsî, 'Abû-al-wafâ Muḥammad ben Muḥammad Albûzajânî, and I myself in many of my books, particularly in the *Kitâb-al-istishhâd bikhtilâf al'arṣâd*.

In each of these cycles the stars come into conjunction with each other in the first part of Aries once, viz. when they start upon and return from their rotation, however, at different times. If he ('Abû-Ma'shar) now would maintain, that the stars were created standing at that time in the first part of Aries, or that the conjunction of the stars in that place is identical with the beginning of the world, or with the end of the world, such an assertion would be utterly void of proof, although the matter be within the limits of possibility. But such conclusions can never be admitted, except they rest on an evident argument, or on the report of some one who relates the *origines* of the world, whose word is relied upon, and regarding whom in the mind (of the reader or hearer)

this persuasion is established, that he had received divine inspiration and help.

26. For it is quite possible that these (celestial) bodies were scattered, not united at the time when the Creator designed and created them, they having these motions, by which—as calculation shows—they must meet each other in *one* point in such a time (as above mentioned). It would be the same, as if we, *e.g.* supposed a circle, in different separate places of which we put living beings, of whom some move fast, others slowly, each of them, however, being carried on in equal motions—of its peculiar sort of motion—in equal times; further, suppose that we knew their distances and places at a certain time, and the measure of the distance over which each of them travels in one Nychthemeron. If you then ask the mathematician as to the length of time, *after* which they would meet each other in a certain point, or *before* which they had met each other in that identical point, no blame attaches to him, if he speaks of billions of years. Nor does it follow from his account that those beings *existed* at that (past) time (when they met each other), or that they would *still exist* at that (future) time (when they are to meet again); but this only follows from his account, if it is properly explained, that, *if* these beings really existed (in the past), or would still exist (in future) in that same condition, the result (as to their conjunctions) could be no other but that one at which he had arrived by calculation. But then the verification of this subject is the task of a science which was not the science of 'Abû-Ma'shar.

If, now, the man who uses the cycles (the star-cycles), would conclude that they, viz. the stars, if they stood in conjunction in the first part of Aries, would again and again pass through the same cycles, because, according to his opinion, everything connected with the celestial globe is exempt from growth and decay, and that the condition of the stars in the past was exactly the same, his conclusion would be a mere assumption by which he quiets his mind, and which is not supported by any argument. For a proof does not equally apply to the two sides of a contradiction; it applies only to the one, and excludes the other. Besides it is well known among philosophers and others, that there is no such thing as an *infinite* evolution of power (δύναμις) into action (πρᾶξις), until the latter comes into real existence. The motions, the cycles, and the periods of the past were computed whilst they in reality existed; they have decreased, whilst at the same time increasing in number; therefore, they are not *infinite*.

This exposition will be sufficient for a veracious and fair-minded student. But if he remains obstinate, and inclines to the tricks of overbearing people, more explanations will be wanted, which exceed the compass of this book, in order to remove these ideas from his mind, to heal what is feeble in his thoughts, and to plant the truth in his soul. However, there are other chapters of this book where it will be more

suitable to speak of this subject than here. The discrepancy of the cycles, not the discrepancy of the observations, is a sufficient argument for—and a powerful help towards—repudiating the follies committed by 'Abû-Ma'shar, and relied upon by foolish people, who abuse all religions, who make the cycles of Sindhind, and others, the means by which to revile those who warn them that the hour of judgment is coming, and who tell them, that on the day of resurrection there will be reward and punishment in yonder world. It is the same set of people who excite suspicions against—and bring discredit upon—astronomers and mathe-
10 maticians, by counting themselves among their ranks, and by representing themselves as professors of their art, although they cannot even impose p. 27. upon anybody who has only the slightest degree of scientific training.

Era of Nabonassar.—The next following era is the Era of the first Nebukadnezar (Nabonassar). The Persian form of this word (*Bukhtanaṣṣar*) is *Bukht-narsi*, and people say that it means "one who weeps and laments much"; in Hebrew, "Nebukadnezar," which is said to mean "Mercury speaking," this being combined with the notion that he cherished science and favoured scholars. Then when the word was Arabised, and its form was simplified, people said "*Bukhtanaṣṣar*."
20 This is not the same king who devastated Jerusalem, for between these two there is an interval of about 143 years, as the following chronological tables will indicate.

The era of this king is based upon the Egyptian years. It is employed in the Almagest for the computation of the places of the planets, because Ptolemy preferred this era to others, and fixed thereby the mean places of the stars. Besides he uses the cycles of Callippus, the beginning of which is in the year 418 after Bukhtanaṣṣar, and each of which consists of seventy-six solar years. Those who do not know them (these cycles), try to prove by what they find mentioned in Almagest, that they are of
30 Egyptian origin; for Hipparchus and Ptolemy fix the times of their observations by Egyptian days and months, and then refer them to the corresponding cycles of Callippus. Such, however, is not the case. The first cycle, employed by those who compute the months by the revolution of the moon and the years by the revolution of the sun, was the cycle of eight years, and the second that of nineteen years. Callippus was of the number of the mathematicians, and one who himself—or whose people—considered the use of this latter cycle as part of their laws. Thereupon, he computed this cycle (of seventy-six years), uniting for that purpose four cycles of nineteen years.

40 Some people think that in these cycles the beginning of the months was fixed by the appearance of new moon, not by calculation, as people at that (remote) age did not yet know the calculation of the eclipses, by which alone the length of the lunar month is to be determined, and these calculations are rendered perfect; and that the first who knew the theory of the eclipses was Thales of Miletus. For after having frequently

attended the lectures of the mathematicians, and having learned from them the science of form and motions (astronomy), he proceeded to discover the calculation of the eclipses. Then he happened to come to Egypt, where he warned people of an impending eclipse. When, then, his prediction had been fulfilled, people honoured him highly.

The matter, as thus reported, does not belong to the impossible. For each art goes back to certain original sources, and the nearer it is to its origin, the more simple it is, till you at last arrive at the very origin itself. However, this account, that eclipses were not known before Thales, must not be understood in this generality, but with certain local restrictions. For some people refer this scholar (Thales) to the time of Ardashîr ben Bâbak, others to that of Kaiḳubâdh. Now, if he lived at
28. the time of Ardashîr, he was preceded by Ptolemy and Hipparchus; and these two among the astronomers of that age knew the subject quite sufficiently. If, on the other hand, he lived at the time of Kaiḳubâdh, he stands near to Zoroaster, who belonged to the sect of the Ḥarrânians, and to those who already before him (Zoroaster) excelled in science, and had carried it to such a height as that they could not be ignorant of the theory of the eclipses. If, therefore, their report (regarding the discovery of the theory of the eclipses by Thales) be true, it is not to be understood in this generality, but with certain restrictions.

Era of Philippus Aridæus.—The era of Philip, the father of Alexander, is based upon Egyptian years. But this era is also frequently dated from the death of Alexander, the Macedonian, the Founder. In both cases the matter is the same, and there is only a difference in the expression. Because Alexander, the Founder, was succeeded by Philip, therefore, it is the same, whether you date from the death of the former, or the accession of the latter, the epoch being a connecting link common to both of them. Those who employ this era are called *Alexandrines*. On this era Theon Alexandrinus has based his so-called "Canon."

Era of Alexander.—Then follows the era of Alexander the Greek, to whom some people give the surname *Bicornutus*. On the difference of opinions regarding this personage, I shall enlarge in the next following chapter. This era is based upon Greek years. It is in use among most nations. When Alexander had left Greece at the age of twenty-six years, prepared to fight with Darius, the king of the Persians, and marching upon his capital, he went down to Jerusalem, which was inhabited by the Jews; then he ordered the Jews to give up the era of Moses and David, and to use his era instead, and to adopt that very year, the twenty-seventh of his life, as the epoch of this era. The Jews obeyed his command, and accepted what he ordered; for the Rabbis allowed them such a change at the end of each millennium after Moses. And at that time just a millennium had become complete, and their offerings and sacrifices had ceased to be practised, as they relate. So they adopted his era, and used it for fixing all the occurrences of their months and days,

as they had already done in the twenty-sixth year of his life, when he first started from home, with the view of finishing the millennium (*i.e.* so as not to enter upon a new one). When, then, the first thousand years of the Æra Alexandri had passed, the end of which did not coincide with any striking event which people are accustomed to make the epoch of an era, they kept the Æra Alexandri, and continued to use it. The Greeks also use it. But according to the report of a book, which Ḥabîb ben Bihrîz, the metropolitan of Mosul, has translated, the Greeks used to date—before they adopted the Æra Alexandri—from the migration of Yûnân ben Paris from Babel towards the west.

Era of Augustus.—Next follows the era of the king Augustus, the first of the Roman emperors (*Cæsares*). The word "*Cæsar*" means in Frankish (*i.e.* Latin) "he has been drawn forth, after a cutting has been made." The explanation is this, that his mother died in labour-pains, whilst she was pregnant with him; then her womb was opened by the "Cæsarean operation," and he was drawn forth, and got the surname "*Cæsar*." He used to boast before the kings, that he had not come out of the *pudendum muliebre* of a woman, as also 'Aḥmad ben Sahl ben Hâshim ben Alwalîd ben Ḥamla ben Kâmkâr ben Yazdajird ben Shahryâr used to boast, that the same had happened to him. And he (Augustus) used to revile people calling them "*son of the pudendum muliebre.*" p. 29.

The historians relate, that Jesus, the son of Mary, was born in the forty-third year of his reign. This, however, does not agree with the order of the years. The chronological tables, in which we shall give a corrected sequence of events, necessitate that his birth should have taken place in the seventeenth year of his reign.

It was Augustus who caused the people of Alexandria to give up their system of reckoning by non-intercalated Egyptian years, and to adopt the system of the Chaldæans, which in our time is used in Egypt. This he did in the sixth year of his reign; therefore, they took this year as the epoch of this era.

Era of Antoninus.—The era of Antoninus, one of the Roman kings, was based upon Greek years. Ptolemy corrected the places of the fixed stars, dating from the beginning of his reign, and noted them in the Almagest, directing that their positions should be advanced one degree every year.

Era of Diocletianus.—Then follows the era of Diocletian, the last of the Roman kings who worshipped the idols. After the sovereign power had been transferred to him, it remained among his descendants. After him reigned Constantine, who was the first Roman king who became a Christian. The years of this era are Greek. Several authors of Canons have used this era, and have fixed thereby the necessary paradigms of the prognostics, the *Tempora natalicia*, and the conjunctions.

Era of the Flight.—Then follows the era of the Flight of the

Prophet Muḥammad from Makka to Madîna. It is based upon Lunar years, in which the commencements of the months are determined by the appearance of New Moon, not by calculation. It is used by the whole Muhammadan world. The circumstances under which this very point was adopted as an epoch, and not the time when the Prophet was either born or entrusted with his divine mission or died, were the following:— Maimûn ben Mihrân relates, that Omar ben Alkhaṭṭâb, when people one day handed over to him a cheque payable in the month *Sha'bân*, said:— "Which Sha'bân is meant? that one in which we are or the next Sha'bân?" Thereupon he assembled the Companions of the Prophet, and asked their advice regarding the matter of chronology, which troubled his mind. They answered: "It is necessary to inform ourselves of the practice of the Persians in this respect." Then they fetc Hurmuzân, and asked him for information. He said: "We have a computation which we call *Mâh-rûz*, *i.e.* the computation of months and days." People arabized this word, and pronounced تاريخ (*Mu'arrakh*), and coined as its infinitive the word "*Ta'rîkh*." Hurmuzân explained to them how they used this Mâh-rûz, and what the Greeks used of a similar kind. Then Omar spoke to the Companions of the Prophet: "Establish a mode of dating for the intercourse of people." Now some said: "Date according to the era of the Greeks, for they date according to the era of Alexander." Others objected that this mode of dating was too lengthy, and said: "Date according to the era of the Persians." But then it was objected, that as soon as a new king arises among the Persians he abolishes the era of his predecessor. So they could not come to an agreement.

p. 30.

Alsha'bî relates, that 'Abû-Mûsâ Al'ash'arî wrote to Omar ben Alkhaṭṭâb: "You send us letters without a date." Omar had already organized the registers, had established the taxes and regulations, and was in want of an era, not liking the old ones. On this occasion he assembled the Companions, and took their advice. Now the most authentic date, which involves no obscurities nor possible mishaps, seemed to be the date of the flight of the Prophet, and of his arrival at Madîna on Monday the 8th of the month Rabî' I., whilst the beginning of the year was a Thursday. Now he adopted this epoch, and fixed thereby the dates in all his affairs. This happened A.H. 17.

The reason why Omar selected this event as an epoch, and not the time of the birth of the Prophet, or the time when he was entrusted with his divine mission, is this, that regarding those two dates there existed such a divergency of opinion, as did not allow it to be made the basis of something which must be agreed upon universally.

Further he (Alsha'bî) says: People say that He was born in the night of Monday the 2nd, or the 8th, or the 13th of Rabî' I.; others say that he was born in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Kisrâ Anôshîrwân. In consequence there is also a difference of opinions regarding the length of his life, corresponding to the different statements regarding his birth.

Besides, the single years were of different length, some having been intercalated, others not, about the time when intercalation was prohibited. Considering further that after the Flight, the affairs of Islâm were thoroughly established, while heathenism decreased, that the Prophet was saved from the calamities prepared for him by the infidels of Makka, and that after the Flight his conquests followed each other in rapid succession, we come to the conclusion that the Flight was to the Prophet, what to the kings is their accession, and their taking possession of the whole sovereign power.

As regards the well known date of his death, people do not like to date from the death of a prophet or a king, except the prophet be a liar, or the king an enemy, whose death people enjoy, and wish to make a festival of; or he be one of those with whom a dynasty is extinguished, so that his followers among themselves make this date a memorial of him, and a mourning feast. But this latter case has only happened very seldom. *E.g.* the era of Alexander the Founder is reckoned from the time of his death, he having been considered as one of those from whom the era of the kings of the Chaldæans and the western kings was transferred to the era of the Ptolemæan kings, of whom each is called *Ptolemy*, which means *warlike*. Therefore, those to whom the empire was transferred, dated from the time of his death, considering it as a joyful event. It is precisely the same in the case of the era of Yazdajird ben Shahryâr. For the Magians date from the time of his death, because when he perished, the dynasty was extinguished. Therefore they dated from his death, mourning over him, and lamenting for the downfal of their religion. p. 31.

At the time of the Prophet, people had given to each of the years between the Flight and his death a special name, derived from some event, which had happened to him in that identical year.

The 1st year after the Flight is		"the year of the permission."
The 2nd year	„	"the year of the order for fighting."
The 3rd year		"the year of the trial."
The 4th year	„	"the year of the congratulation on the occasion of marriage."
The 5th year	„	"the year of the earthquake."
The 6th year	„	"the year of inquiring."
The 7th year	„	"the year of gaining victory."
The 8th year		"the year of equality."
The 9th year	„	"the year of exemption."
The 10th year	„	"the year of farewell."

By these names it was rendered superfluous to denote the years by the numbers, the 1st, the 2nd, etc., after the Flight.

Era of Yazdajird.—Next follows the era of the reign of Yazdajird ben Shahryâr ben Kisrâ Parwîz, which is based upon Persian non-

intercalated years. It has been employed in the Canons, because it is easy and simple to use. The reason why precisely the era of this king among all the kings of Persia has become so generally known, is this that he ascended the throne, when the empire had been shattered, when the women had got hold of it, and usurpers had seized all power. Besides, he was the last of their kings, and it was he with whom Omar ben Alkhaṭṭâb fought most of those famous wars and battles. Finally, the empire succumbed, and he was put to flight and was killed in the house of a miller at Marw-i-Shâhijân.

Reform of the Calendar by the Khalif Almu'taḍid.—Lastly, the era of 'Aḥmad ben Ṭalḥa Almu'taḍid-billâh the Khalif was based upon Greek years and Persian months; however, with this difference, that in every fourth year one day was intercalated. The following is the origin of this era, as reported by 'Abû-Bakr Alṣûlî in his *Kitâb-al'auraḳ*, and by Ḥamza ben Alḥasan Alisfahânî in his book on famous poems, relating to Naurûz and Mihrjân. Almutawakkil, while wandering about over one of his hunting-grounds, observed corn that had not yet ripened, and not yet attained its proper time for being reaped. So he said: "Ubaid-allâh ben Yaḥyâ has asked my permission for levying the taxes, whilst I observe that the corn is still green. From what then are people to pay their taxes?" Thereupon he was informed, that this, in fact, had done a great deal of harm to the people, so that they were compelled to borrow and to incur debts, and even to emigrate from their homes; that they had many complaints and wrongs to recount. Then the Khalif said: "Has this arisen lately during my reign, or has it always been so?" And people answered: "No. This is going on according to the regulations established by the Persian kings for the levying of the taxes at the time of Naurûz. In this their example has been followed by the kings of the Arabs." Then the Khalif ordered the Maubadh to be brought before him, and said to him: "This has been the subject of much research on my part, and I cannot find that I violate the regulations of the Persians. How, then, did they levy the taxes from their subjects—considering the beneficence and good will which they observed towards them? And why did they allow the taxes to be levied at a time like this, when the fruit and corn are not yet ripe?" To this the Maubadh replied: "Although they always levied the taxes at Naurûz, this never happened except at the time when the corn was ripe." The Khalif asked: "And how was that?" Now the Maubadh explained to him the nature of their years, their different lengths, and their need of intercalation. Then he proceeded to relate, that the Persians used to intercalate the years; but when Islâm had been established, intercalation was abolished; and that did much harm to the people. The landholders assembled at the time of Hishâm ben 'Abdalmalik and called on Khâlid Alḳasrî; they explained to him the subject, and asked him to postpone Naurûz by a month. Khâlid declined to do so, but reported on the

32.

subject to Hishâm, who said: "I am afraid, that to this subject may be applied the word of God: "*Intercalation is only an increase of heathenism*" (Sûra ix. 37). Afterwards at the time of Alrashîd the landholders assembled again and called on Yaḥyâ ben Khâlid ben Barmak, asking him to postpone Naurûz by about two months. Now, Yaḥyâ had the intention to do so, but then his enemies began to speak of the subject, and said: "He is partial to Zoroastrianism." Therefore he dropped the subject, and the matter remained as it was before.

Now Almutawakkil ordered 'Ibrâhîm ben Al'abbâs Alṣûlî to be brought before him, and told him, that in accordance with what the Maubadh had related of Naurûz, he should compute the days, and compose a fixed Canon (Calendar); that he should compose a paper on the postponement of Naurûz, which was to be sent by order of the Khalif to all the provinces of the empire. It was determined to postpone Naurûz till the 17th of Ḥazîrân. Alṣûlî did as he was ordered, and the letters arrived in the provinces in Muḥarram A.H. 243. The poet, Albuḥturî has composed a Ḳaṣîda on the subject in praise of Almutawakkil, where he says:—

"The day of Naurûz has returned to that time, on which it was fixed by Ardashîr.

Thou hast transferred Naurûz to its original condition, whilst before thee it was wandering about, circulating.

Now thou hast levied the taxes at Naurûz, and that was a memorable benefit to the people.

They bring thee praise and thanks, and thou bringest them justice and a present, well deserving of thanks."

However, Almutawakkil was killed, and his plan was not carried out, until Almu'taḍid ascended the throne of the Khalifate, delivered the provinces of the empire from their usurpers, and gained sufficient leisure to study the affairs of his subjects. He attributed the greatest importance to intercalation and to the carrying out of this measure. He followed the method of Almutawakkil regarding the postponement of Naurûz; however he treated the subject differently, inasmuch as Almutawakkil had made the basis of his computation the interval between *his* year (*i.e.* that year, in which he then happened to live), and the beginning of the reign of Yazdajird, whilst Almu'taḍid took the interval between *his* year and that year in which the Persian empire perished by the death of Yazdajird, because he—or those who did the work for him—held this opinion, that *since that time* intercalation had been neglected. This interval he found to be 243 years and 60 days+a fraction, arising from the day-quarters (exceeding the 365 days of the Solar year). These 60 days he added at Naurûz of his year, and put Naurûz at the end of them, which fell upon a Wednesday, the 1st Khurdâdh-Mâh of that year, coinciding with the 11th of Ḥazîrân. Thereupon he fixed Naurûz in the p. 33

Greek months for this purpose, that the months of *his* year should be intercalated at the same time when the Greeks intercalate their years. The man who was entrusted with carrying out his orders, was his Wazîr 'Abû-alḳâsim 'Ubaid-allâh ben Sulaimân ben Wahb. To this subject the following verses of the astronomer 'Alî ben Yaḥyâ refer:—

"O thou restorer of the untarnished glory, renovator of the shattered empire!
Who hast again established among us the pillar of religion, after it had been tottering!
Thou hast surpassed all the kings like the foremost horse in a race.
How blessed is that Naurûz, when thou hast earned thanks besides the reward (due to thee for it in heaven)!
By postponing Naurûz thou hast justly made precede, what they had postponed."

On the same subject 'Alî ben Yaḥyâ says:—

"The day of thy Naurûz is one and the same day, not liable to moving backward,
Always coinciding with the 11th of Ḥazîrân."

Now, although in bringing about this measure much ingenuity has been displayed, Naurûz has not thereby returned to that place which it occupied at the time when intercalation was still practised in the Persian empire. For the Persians had already begun to neglect their intercalation nearly seventy years before the death of Yazdajird. Because at the time of Yazdajird ben Shâpûr they had intercalated into their year two months, one of them as the necessary compensation for that space of time, by which the year had moved backward (it being too short). The five Epagomenæ they put as a mark at the end of this intercalary month, and the turn had just come to Âbân-Mâh, as we shall explain hereafter. The second month they intercalated with regard to the future, that no other intercalation might be needed for a long period.

Now, if you subtract from the sum of the years between Yazdajird ben Shâpûr and Yazdajird ben Shahryâr 120 years, you get a remainder of nearly—but not exactly—70 years; there is much uncertainty and confusion in the Persian chronology. The *Portio intercalanda* of these 70 years would amount to nearly 17 days. Therefore it would have been necessary, if we calculate without mathematical accuracy, to postpone Naurûz not 60, but 77 days, in order that it might coincide with the 28th of Ḥazîrân. The man who worked out this reform, was of opinion, that the Persian method of intercalation was similar to the Greek method. Therefore he computed the days since the extinction of their empire. Whilst in reality the matter is a different one, as we have already explained, and shall more fully explain hereafter.

This is the last of those eras that have become celebrated. But

perhaps some other nations, whose countries are far distant from ours, have eras of their own, which have not been handed down to posterity, p. 34. or such eras as are now obsolete. For instance, the Persians in the time of Zoroastrianism used to date successively by the years of the reign of each of their kings. When a king died, they dropped his era, and adopted that of his successor. The duration of the reigns of their kings we have stated in the tables which will follow hereafter.

Epochs of the Ancient Arabs.—As a second instance we mention the Ishmaelite Arabs. For they used to date from the construction of the Ka'ba by Abraham and Ishmael till the time when they were dispersed and left Tihâma. Those who went away dated from the time of their exodus, whilst those who remained in the country dated from the time when the last party of the emigrants had left. But afterwards, after a long course of time, they dated from the year when the chieftainship devolved upon 'Amr ben Rabî'a, known by the name of 'Amr ben Yaḥyâ, who is said to have changed the religion of Abraham, to have brought from the city of Balḳâ the idol Hubal, and to have himself made the idols 'Isâf and Nâ'ila. This is said to have happened at the time of Shâpûr Dhû-al'aktâf. This synchronism, however, is not borne out by the comparison of the chronological theories of both sides (Arabs and Persians).

Afterwards they dated from the death of Ka'b ben Lu'ayy—till the *Year of Treason*, in which the Banû-Yarbû' stole certain garments which some of the kings of Ḥimyar sent to the Ka'ba, and when a general fighting among the people occurred at the time of the holy pilgrimage. Thereupon they dated from the Year of Treason till the *Year of the Elephants*, in which the Lord, when the Ethiopians were coming on with the intention of destroying the Ka'ba, brought down the consequences of their cunning enterprise upon their own necks, and annihilated them. Thereupon they dated from the era of the Hijra.

Some Arabs used to date from famous accidents, and from celebrated days of battle, which they fought among themselves. As such epochs the Banû-Ḳuraish, *e.g.* had the following ones:—

1. The day of Alfijâr in the sacred month.

2. The day of the Confederacy of Alfuḍûl, in which the contracting parties bound themselves to assist all those to whom wrong was done. Because the Banû-Ḳuraish committed wrong and violence against each other within the holy precinct of Makka.

3. The year of the death of Hishâm ben Almughîra Almakhzûmî, for the celebration of his memory.

(4) The year of the reconstruction of the Ka'ba, by order of the Prophet Muḥammad.

The tribes 'Aus and Khazraj used the following days as epochs:—

1. The day of Alfaḍâ.

2. The day of Alrahi'.
3. The day of Alruḥâba.
4. The day of Alsarâra.
5. The day of Dâḥis and Ghabrâ.
6. The day of Bughâth.
7. The day of Ḥâṭib.
8. The day of Maḍris and Mu'abhis.

Among the tribes Bakr and Taghlib, the two sons of Wâ'il, the following epochs were used:—

1. The day of 'Unaiza.
2. The day of Alḥinw.
3. The day of Taḥlâḳ-allimam.
4. The day of Alḳuṣaibât.
5. The day of Alfaṣîl.

These and other "*war-days*" were used as epochs among the different tribes and clans of the Arabs. Their names refer to the places where they were fought, and to their causes.

If, now, these eras were kept in the proper order in which chronological subjects are to be treated, we should do with them the same that we intend to do with all the other subjects connected with eras. However, people say that between the year of the death of Ka'b ben Lu'ayy and the year of Treason there is an interval of 520 years, and between the year of Treason and the year of the Elephants an interval of 110 years. The Prophet was born 50 years after the invasion of the Ethiopians, and between his birth and the year of Alfijâr there were 20 years. At
p. 35. this battle the Prophet was present, as he has said himself: "I was present on the day of Alfijâr. Then I shot at my uncles." Between the day of Alfijâr and the reconstruction of the Ka'ba there are 15 years, and 5 years between the reconstruction of the Ka'ba and the time when Muḥammad was entrusted with his divine mission.

Likewise the Ḥimyarites and the Banû Ḳaḥṭân used to date by the reigns of their Tubba's, as the Persians by the reigns of their Kisrâs, and the Greeks by the reigns of their Caesars. However, the rule of the Ḥimyarites did not always proceed in complete order, and in their chronology there is much confusion. Notwithstanding, we have stated the duration of the reigns of their kings in our tables, as also those of the kings of the Banû-Lakhm, who inhabited Ḥîra, and were settled there, and had made it their home.

Chorasmian Antiquities.—In a similar way the people of Khwârizm proceeded. For they dated from the beginning of the colonization of their country, A. 980 before Alexander. Afterwards they adopted as the epoch of an era the event of the coming of Siyâwush ben Kaikâ'ûs down to Khwarizm, and the rule of Kaikhusrû, and of his

descendants over the country, dating from the time when he immigrated and extended his sway over the empire of the Turks. This happened 92 years after the colonization of the country.

At a later time they imitated the example of the Persians in dating by the years of the reign of each king of the line of Kaikhusrû, who ruled over the country, and who was called by the title of *Shâhiya*. This went on down to the reign of Âfrîgh, one of the kings of that family. His name was considered a bad omen like that of Yazdajird the Wicked, with the Persians. His son succeeded him in the rule of the country. He (Âfrîgh) built his castle behind Alfîr, A. Alexandri 616. Now people began to date from him and his children (*i.e.* by the years of his reign and that of his descendants).

This Alfîr was a fortress on the outskirts of the city of Khwârizm, built of clay and tiles, consisting of three forts, one being built within the other, and all three being of equal height; and rising above the whole of it were the royal palaces, very much like Ghumdân in Yaman at the time when it was the residence of the Tubba'a. For this Ghumdân was a castle in Ṣan'â, opposite the great mosque, founded upon a rock, of which people say that it was built by Sem ben Noah after the Deluge. In the castle there is a cistern, which he (Sem) had digged. Others think that it was a temple built by Aḍaḥḥâk for Venus. This Alfir was to be seen from the distance of 10 miles and more. It was broken and shattered by the Oxus, and was swept away piece by piece every year, till the last remains of it had disappeared A. Alexandri 1305.

Of this dynasty was reigning at the time when the Prophet was entrusted with his divine mission—

10. Arthamûkh ben
9. Bûzkâr ben
8. Khâmgrî ben
7. Sbâwush ben
6. Sakhr hen
5. Azkâjawâr ben
4. Askajamûk ben
3. Sakhassak hen
2. Baghra ben
1. Âfrîgh.

When Ḳutaiba ben Muslim had conquered Khwârizm the second time, after the inhabitants had rebelled, he constituted as their king—

14. Askajamûk hen
13. Azkâjawâr ben
12. Sabrî ben
11. Sakhr hen
10. Arthamûkh,

p. 86. and appointed him as their *Shâh*. The descendants of the Kisrâs lost the office of the "*Wali*" (the governorship), but they retained the office of the *Shâh*, it being hereditary among them. And they accommodated themselves to dating from the Hijra according to the use of the Muslims.

Ḳutaiba ben Muslim had extinguished and ruined in every possible way all those who knew how to write and to read the Khwârizmî writing, who knew the history of the country and who studied their sciences. In consequence these things are involved in so much obscurity, that it is impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of the history of the country since the time of Islâm (not to speak of pre-Muhammadan times).

The *Wilâya* (governorship) remained afterwards alternately in the hands of this family and of others, till the time when they lost both *Wilâya* (governorship) and Shâhiyya (Shâhdom), after the death of the martyr

22. 'Abû 'Abdallâh Muḥammad ben
21. 'Aḥmad ben
20. Muḥammad ben
19. 'Irâḳ ben
18. Manṣûr ben
17. 'Abdallâh ben
16. Turkasbâtha ben
15. Shâwushfar ben
14. Askajamûk ben
13. Azkâjawâr ben
12. Sabrî ben
11. Sakhr ben
10. Arthamûkh, in whose time, as I have said, the Prophet was entrusted with his divine mission.

This is all I could ascertain regarding the celebrated eras; to know them all is impossible for a human being. God helps to the right insight.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS OF VARIOUS NATIONS REGARDING THE KING CALLED DHÛ-ALḲARNAINI OR BICORNUTUS.

We must explain in a separate chapter what people think of the bearer of this name, of Dhû-alḳarnaini, for the subject interrupts, in this part of the course of our exposition, the order in which our chronology would have to proceed.

Now it has been said, that the story about him as contained in the Koran, is well-known and intelligible to everybody who reads the verses specially devoted to his history. The pith and marrow of it is this, that he was a good and powerful man, whom God had gifted with extraordinary authority and power, and whose plans he had crowned with success both in east and west; he conquered cities, subdued countries, reduced his subjects to submission, and united the whole empire under his single sway. He is generally assumed to have entered the darkness in the north, to have seen the remotest frontiers of the inhabitable world, to have fought both against men and demons, to have passed between Gog and Magog, so as to cut off their communication, to have marched out towards the countries adjoining their territory in the east and north, to have restrained and repelled their mischievous inroads by means of a wall, constructed in a mountain-pass, whence they used to pour forth. It was built of iron-blocks joined by molten brass, as is still now the practice of artisans.

When Alexander, the son of Philip, Alyûnânî (*i.e.* the Ionian, meaning the Greek) had united under his sway the Greek empire (*lit.* the empire of the Romans), which had previously consisted of single principalities, he marched against the princes of the west, overpowering and subduing them, going as far as the *Green Sea*. Thereupon he returned to Egypt, where he founded Alexandria, giving it his own name. Then he marched towards Syria and the Israelites of the country, went down

to Jerusalem, sacrificed in its temple and made offerings. Thence he turned to Armenia and Bâb-al'abwâb, and passed even beyond it. The Copts, Berbers, and Hebrews obeyed him. Then he marched against Dârâ, the son of Dârâ, in order to take revenge for all the wrongs which Syria had suffered at the hands of Bukhtanaṣṣar (Nebukadnezzar) and the Babylonians. He fought with him and put him to flight several times, and in one of those battles Dârâ was killed by the chief of his body-guard, called Nanjushanas ben Âdharbakht, whereupon Alexander took possession of the Persian empire. Then he went to India and China, making war upon the most distant nations, and subduing all the tracts of country through which he passed. Thence he returned to Khurâsân, conquered it, and built several towns. On returning to 'Irâḳ he became ill in Shahrazûr, and died. In all his enterprises he acted under the guidance of philosophical principles, and in all his plans he took the advice of his teacher, Aristotle. Now, on account of all this he has been thought to be Dhû-alḳarnaini, or Bicornutus.

As to the interpretation of this surname, people say he was called so because he reached the two "*horns*" of the sun, *i.e.* his rising and setting places, just as Ardashîr Bahman was called Longimanus, because his command was omnipotent, wherever he liked, as if he had only to stretch out his hand in order to set things right.

According to others he was called so because he descended from two different "generations" (*lit.* horns) *i.e.* the Greeks and Persians. And on this subject they have adopted the vague opinions which the Persians have devised in a hostile spirit, *viz.* that Dârâ the Great had married his mother, a daughter of King Philip, but she had an offensive odour, which he could not endure, and so he sent her back to her father, she being pregnant; that he was called a son of Philip, simply because the latter had educated him. This story of theirs they try to prove by the fact, that Alexander, when he reached Dârâ, who was expiring, put his head on his lap and spoke to him: "O my brother, tell me, who did this to you, that I may take revenge for you?" But Alexander so addressed him only because he wanted to be kind towards him, and to represent him (Dârâ) and himself as brethren, it being impossible to address him as king, or to call him by his name, both of which would have betrayed a high degree of rudeness unbecoming a king.

On Real and Forged Pedigrees.—However, enemies are always eager to revile the parentage of people, to detract from their reputation, and to attack their deeds and merits, in the same way as friends and partisans are eager to embellish that which is ugly, to cover up the weak parts, to proclaim publicly that which is noble, and to refer everything to great virtues, as the poet describes them in these words:—

> "The eye of benevolence is blind to every fault,
> But the eye of hatred discovers every vice."

Obstinacy in this direction frequently leads people to invent laudatory stories, and to forge genealogies which go back to glorious ancestors, as has been done, *e.g.* for Ibr 'Abdalrazzâḳ Alṭûsî, when he got made for himself a genealogy out of the Shâhnâma, which makes him descend from Minôsheihr, and also for the house of Buwaihi. For 'Abû-'Iṣḥâḳ 'Ibrâhîm ben Hilâl Alsâbî, in his book called *Alt̄âj* (the crown), makes Buwaihi descend from Bahrâm Gûr by the following line of ancestors:— p. 38.

I. Buwaihi.
Fanâkhusrû.
Thamân.
Kûhî.
V. Shîrzîl junior.
Shîrkadha.
Shîrzîl senior.
Shîrânshâh.
Shirfana.
X. Sasanânshâh.
Sasankhurra.
Shûzîl.
Sasanâdhar.
XIV. Bahrâm Gûr the king.

'Abû-Muḥammad Alḥasan ben 'Alî ben Nânâ in his epitome of the history of the Buwaihides, says that—

I. Buwaihi was the son of
Fanâkhusra, the son of
Thamân.

Then some people continue—

Thamân, the son of
Kûhî, the son of
V. Shîrzîl junior;

whilst others drop Kûhî.

Then they continue—

Shîrzîl senior, the son of
Shîrânshâh, the son of
Shîrâna, the son of
Sasanânshâh, the son of
X. Sasankhurra, the son of
Shûzîl, the son of
Sasanâdhar, the son of
XIII. Bahrâm.

Further, people disagree regarding this Bahrâm. Those who give the Buwaihides a Persian origin, contend that he was Bahrâm Gûr, and continue the enumeration of his ancestors (down to the origin of the

family Sâsân), whilst others who give them an Arabic origin, say that he was—

Bahrâm ben
Aḍḍaḥḥâk ben
Al'abyaḍ ben
Mu'âwiya ben
Aldailam ben
Bâsil ben
Ḍabba ben
'Udd.

Others, again, mention among the series of ancestors—

Lâhû hen
Aldailam ben
Bâsil,

and maintain that from this name his son Layâhaj derived his name.

He, however, who considers what I have laid down at the beginning of this book, as the *conditio sine quâ non* for the knowledge of the proper mean between dispargement and exaggeration, and the necessity of the greatest carefulness for everybody who wants to give a fair judgment, will be aware of the fact, that the first member of this family who became celebrated was Buwaihi ben Fanâkhusra. And it is not at all known that those tribes were particularly careful in preserving and continuing their genealogical traditions, nor that they knew anything like this of the family Buwaihi, before they came into power. It very rarely happens that genealogies are preserved without any interruption during a long period of time. In such cases the only possible way of distinguishing a just claim to some noble descent from a false one is the agreement of all, and the assent of the whole generation in question regarding that subject. An instance of this is the lord of mankind,—

I. Muḥammad, for he is the son of
'Abd-allâh ben
'Abd-almuṭṭalib ben
Hâshim ben
V. 'Abd-Manâf ben
Ḳusayy ben
Kilâb ben
Murra ben
Ka'b ben
X. Lu'ayy ben
Ghâ'ib ben
Fihr ben
Mâlik ben
Alnaḍr ben

XV. Kinâna ben
Khuzaima ben
Mudrika ben
'Ilyâs ben
Muḍar ben
XX. Nizâr ben
Ma'add ben
XXII. 'Adnân.

Nobody in the world doubts this lineage of ancestors, as they do not doubt either, that he descends from Ishmael, the son of Abraham. The ancestry beyond Abraham is to be found in the Thora. However, regarding the link of parentage between 'Adnân and Ishmael there is a considerable divergence of opinions, inasmuch as some people consider as the father the person whom others take for the son, and *vice versâ*, and as they add considerably in some places, and leave out in others. p. 39.

Further as to our master, the commander, the prince, the glorious and victorious, the benefactor, Shams-alma'âlî, may God give him a long life, not one of his friends, whom may God help, nor any of his opponents, whom may God desert, denies his noble and ancient descent, well established on both sides, although his pedigree back to the origin of his princely family has not been preserved without any interruption. On the one side he descends from Wardânshâh, whose nobility is well-known throughout Ghîlân; and this prince had a son, besides the prince, the martyr Mardâwîj. People say, that the son of Wardânshâh obeyed the orders of 'Asfâr ben Shîrawaihi, and that it was he, who suggested to him (his brother Mardâwîj) the idea of delivering the people from the tyranny and oppression of 'Asfâr. On the other side he descends from the kings of Media, called the Ispahbads of Khurâsân and the Farkhwârjarshâhîs. And it has never been denied that those among them, who belonged to the royal house of Persia, claimed to have a pedigree which unites them and the Kisrâs into one family. For his uncle is the Ispahbad— Pafaš

I. Rustam ben
وهرمز ben
Rustam ben
Ḳârin ben
V. Shahryâr ben
وهرمز ben
Surkhâb ben
ياو ben
Shâpûr ben
X. Kayûs ben
XI. Ḳubâdh, who was the father of Anûshirwân.

May God give to our master the empire from east and west over all

the parts of the world, as he has assigned him a noble origin on both sides. God's is the power to do it, and all good comes from him.

The same applies to the kings of Khurâsân. For nobody contests the fact, that the first of this dynasty—

I. 'Ismâ'îl was the son of
'Aḥmad ben
'Asad ben
Sâmân-khudâh ben
V. جسپهان ben
طغماج ben
نوهرد ben
Bahrâm Shûbîn ben
IX. Bahrâm Jushanas, the commander of the marches of Adharbaijân.

The same applies further to the original Shâhs of Khwârizm, who belonged to the royal house (of Persia), and to the Shâhs of Shirwân, because it is believed by common consent, that they are descendants of the Kisrâs, although their pedigree has not been preserved uninterruptedly.

The fact that claims to some noble lineage, and also to other matters, are just and well founded, always becomes known somehow or other, even if people try to conceal it, being like musk, which spreads its odour, although it be hidden. Under such circumstances, therefore, if people want to settle their genealogy, it is not necessary to spend money and to make presents, as 'Ubaid-allâh ben Alḥasan ben 'Aḥmad ben 'Abdallâh ben Maimûn Alḳaddâḥ did to the genealogists among the party of the
p. 40. Alides, when they declared his claim of descent from them to be a lie, at the time when he came forward in Maghrib; finally he succeeded in contenting them and in making them silent. Notwithstanding the truth is well known to the student, although the fabricated tale has been far spread, and although his descendants are powerful enough to suppress any contradiction. That one of them, who reigns in our time, is 'Abû-'Alî ben Nizâr ben Ma'add ben 'Ismâ'îl ben Muḥammad ben 'Ubaid-allâh the usurper.

I have enlarged on this subject only in order to show how partial people are to those whom they like, and how hostile towards those whom they hate, so that frequently their exaggeration in either direction leads to the discovery of their infamous designs.

That Alexander was the son of Philip is a fact, too evident to be concealed. His pedigree is stated by the most celebrated genealogists in this way:—

I. فيلقس Philip,
مقدونو
هرمس Hermes,
هرقس

V. ميطون Meton.
روسى Rome.
ليطى
يونان Yûnân.
يافث Yâfeth.
X. سوخون
روميه Rûmiya.
برنطا Byzantium.
توفيل Theophil.
10 روسى Rome.
XV. الاصفر Al'aṣfar.
اليفز Elifaz.
العيص Esau.
اسحق Isaak.
XIX. ابرهيم Abraham.

According to another tradition Dhû-alḳarnaini was a man, called اطركس, who marched against Sûmîrus, one of the kings of Babel, fought with him, made him a prisoner and killed him; then he stripped off the skin of his head together with his hair and his two curls, got it 20 tanned, and used it as a crown. Therefore, he was called Dhû-alḳarnaini (Bicornutus). According to another version he is identical with Almundhir ben Mâ-alsamâ, *i.e.* Almundhir ben Imru'ulḳais.

Altogether the most curious opinions are afloat regarding the bearer of this name, that, *e.g.*, his mother was a demon, which is likewise believed of Bilḳîs, for people say that her mother was a demon, and of 'Abdallâh ben Hilâl the juggler, for he was thought to be the devil's son-in-law, being married to his daughter. Such and similar ridiculous stories people produce, and they are far known.

It is related, that 'Umar ben Alkhaṭṭâb, when he heard one day people 30 entering into a profound discussion on Dhû-alḳarnaini, said, "Was it not enough for you, to plunge into the stories on human beings, that you must pass into another field and draw the angels into the discussion?"

Some say, as Ibn Duraid mentions in his *Kitâb-alwishâḥ*, that Dhû-alḳarnaini was Alsa'b ben Alhamnâl Alḥimyarî, whilst others take him for 'Abû-karib Shammar Yur'ish ben 'Ifrîḳîs Alḥimyarî, and believe that he was called so on account of two curls which hung down upon his shoulders, that he reached the east and west of the earth, and traversed its north and south, that he subdued the countries, and reduced the people to complete subjection. It is this prince about whom 40 one of the princes of Yaman, 'As'ad ben 'Amr ben Rabî'a ben Mâlik ben Ṣubaiḥ ben 'Abdallâh ben Zaid ben Yâsir ben Yun'im Alḥimyarî boasts in his poems, in which he says:—

"Dhû-alḳarnaini was before me, a true believer, an exalted king on p. 41.
the earth, never subject to anybody.

He went to the countries of the east and west, always seeking imperial power from a liberal and bountiful (Lord).

Then he saw the setting-place of the sun, at the time when he sets in the well of fever-water and of badly smelling mud.

Before him there was Bilḳîs, my aunt, until her empire came to an end by the hoopoe."

Now it seems to me that of all these versions the last is the true one, because the princes, whose names begin with the word Dhû, occur only in the history of Yaman and nowhere else. Their names are always a compound, the first part of which is the word Dhû, *e.g.*, Dhû-almanâr, Dhû-al'adh'âr, Dhû-alshanâtir, Dhû-Nuwâs, Dhû-Jadan, Dhû-Yazan, and others. Besides, the traditions regarding this Yaman prince, Dhû-alḳarnaini, resemble very much that which is related of him in the Koran. As to the rampart which he constructed between the two walls, it must be stated that the wording of the Koran does not indicate its geographical situation. We learn, however, from the geographical works, as *Jighrâfiya* and the *Itineraria* (the books called *Masâlik wa-mamâlik, i.e.* Itinera et regna), that this nation, *viz.* Yâjûj and Mâjûj are a tribe of the eastern Turks, who live in the most southern parts of the 5th and 6th *κλίματα*. Besides, Muḥammad ben Jarîr Alṭabarî relates in his chronicle, that the prince of Âdharbaijân, at the time when the country was conquered, had sent a man to find the rampart, from the direction of the country of the Khazars, that this man saw the rampart, and described it as a very lofty building of dark colour, situated behind a moat of solid structure and impregnable. . . . . .

'Abdallâh ben 'Abdallâh ben Khurdâdhbih relates, on the authority of the dragoman at the court of the Khalif, that Almu'taṣim dreamt one night, that this rampart had been opened (rendered accessible). Therefore he sent out fifty men to inspect it. They set out from the road which leads to Bâb-al'abwâb, and to the countries of the Lân and Khazar; finally they arrived at the rampart, and found that it was constructed of iron tiles, joined together by molten brass, and with a bolted gate. Its garrison consisted of people of the neighbouring countries. Then they returned, and the guide led them out into the district opposite Samarḳand.

From these two reports, it is evident that the rampart must be situated in the north-west quarter of the inhabitable earth. However, especially in this latter report, there is something which renders its authenticity doubtful, *viz.* the description of the inhabitants of that country, that they are Muslims and speak Arabic, although they are without the slightest connection with the civilized world, from which they are separated by a black, badly smelling country of the extent of many days' travelling; further, that they were totally ignorant as to both Khalif and the Khalifate. Whilst we know of no other Muslim nation which is separated from the territory of Islâm, except the

Bulghâr and the Sawâr, who live towards the end of the civilized world, in the most northern part of the 7th κλίμα. And these people do not make the least mention of such a rampart, and they are well acquainted with the Khalifate and the Khalifs, in whose name they read even the p. 42.
Khuṭba; they do not speak Arabic, but a language of their own, a mixture of Turkish and Khazarî. If, therefore, this report rests on testimonies of this sort, we do not wish to investigate thereby the truth of the subject.

This is what I wished to propound regarding Dhû-alḳarnaini. Allâh knows best!

CHAPTER V.

ON THE NATURE OF THE MONTHS WHICH ARE USED IN THE PRECEDING ERAS.

HERETOFORE I have mentioned already that every nation uses a special era of its own. And in the same degree as they differ in the use of the eras, they differ regarding the beginning of the months, regarding the number of days of each of them, and the reasons assigned therefor. Of this subject, I mention what I have learnt, and do not attempt to find out what I do not know for certain, and regarding which I have no information from a trustworthy person. And first we give the months of the Persians.

Months of the Persians.—The number of the months of one year is twelve, as God has said in his book (Sura ix. 36): "With God the number of the months was twelve months, in the book of God, on the day when God created the heavens and the earth." On this subject there is no difference of opinion between the nations, except in the leap-years. So the Persians have twelve months of the following names:—

Farwardîn Mâh.	Mihr Mâh.
Ardîbahisht Mâh.	Âbân Mâh.
Khurdâdh Mâh.	Âdhar Mâh.
Tîr Mâh.	Dai Mâh.
Murdâdh Mâh.	Bahman Mâh.
Shahrêwar Mâh.	Isfandârmadh Mâh.

I have heard the geometrician 'Abû Sa'îd 'Aḥmad ben Muḥammad ben 'Abd-aljalîl Alsijzî relating of the ancient inhabitants of Sijistân, that they called these months by other names and commenced likewise with Farwardîn Mâh. The names are these—

I. كواذ
زهو

III. اوسال
تير كيانوا

V.	مروزوا	IX.	آرکبازوا
	مروزوا		کژیشت
	تورز		کژهن
	هرانوا	XII.	ساروا

Every one of the Persian months has 30 days, and to each day of a month they give a special name in their language. These are the names— p. 43.

I.	Hurmuz.	XI.	Khûr.	XXI.	Râm.
	Bahman.		Mâh.		Bâdh.
	Ardîbahisht.		Tîr.		Dai-ba-dîn.
	Shahrêwar.		Gôsh.		Dîn.
	Isfandârmadh.		Dai-ba-mihr.		Ard.
VI.	Khurdâdh.	XVI.	Mihr.	XXVI.	Ashtâdh.
	Murdâdh.		Srôsh.		Asmân.
	Dai-ba-âdhar.		Rashn.		Zâmyâdh.
	Âdhar.		Farwardîn.		Mâraesfand.
	Âbân.		Bahrâm.		Anîrân.

There is no difference among the Persians as to the names of these days; they are the same for every month, and they follow in the same order. Only the days Hurmuz and Anîrân are called by some, the former *Farrukh*, the latter *Bih-rôz*.

The sum total of the days is 360, whilst, as we have already observed heretofore, the real year (*i.e.* the mean solar or tropical year) has 365¼ days. Those additional five days they called *Fanjî* (*Panji*) and *Andarjâh*, arabized *Andarjâh*; they are also called *Alnasrûḳa* and *Almustaraḳa* (*i.e.* ἡμέραι κλοπιμαῖαι), on account of their not being reckoned as part of any one of the months. They added them between Âbân Mâh and Âdhar Mâh, and gave them names, which are different from those of the days of each month. These names I never read in two books, nor heard them from two men, in the same way; they are these—

I. اهندکاه II. اهندکاه III. اسفندکاه IV. اسفندمذکاه V. وهشتکاه

In another book I found them in the following form:

I. اهنود II. اهتود III. اسفندمد IV. اخشتر V. وهستوهشت

The author of the *Kitâb-alghurra*, Alnâ'ib Alâmulî gives them these names—

I. خونرد II. استرد III. اسفندمد IV. وهوخوشتر V. وهشت‌بهشت p. 44.

Zâdawaihi hen Shâhawaihi in his book on the causes of the festivals of the Persians, mentions them in this form—

I. فنجه انوفته II. فنجه الدرلده III. فنجه اهجسته
IV. فنجه اوروردیان V. فنجه الدرکاهان

I myself heard 'Abû-alfaraj ben 'Aḥmad ben Khalaf Alzanjânî say that the Mobad in Shîrâz had dictated them to him in this form—

I. اهنوذكاه II. اشتوذكاه III. اسپنمكاه IV. وهوخشثركاه V. وهشتوشتكاه

And lastly, I have heard them from the geometrician 'Abû-alḥasan Âdharkhurâ, the son of Yazdânkhasîs, in this form—

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
هنوذ	اشتوذ	اسپنمن	وهوخشثر	وهشتوشت
(Ahunavaiti.)	(Ustavaiti.)	(Spentâmainyu.)	(Vohukhshathra.)	(Vahistôisti.)

The sum total of their days, therefore, was 365. The quarter of a day (beyond the 365 days) they neglected in their computation, till these quarters of a day had summed up to the days of one complete month, which happened in 120 years. Then they added this month to the other months of the year, so that the number of its months became thirteen. This month they called *Kabîsa* (intercalary month). And the days of this additional month they called by the same names as those of the other months.

In this mode the Persians proceeded till the time when both their empire and their religion perished. Afterwards the day-quarters were neglected, and the years were no longer intercalated with them, and, therefore, they did not return to their original condition, and remained considerably behind the fixed points of time (*i.e.* real time). The reason was this that intercalation was an affair settled under the special patronage of their kings at a meeting of the mathematicians, literary celebrities, historiographers, and chroniclers, priests, and judges,—on the basis of an agreement of all those regarding the correctness of the calculation, after all the persons I have mentioned had been summoned to the royal court from all parts of the empire, and after they had held councils in order to come to an agreement. On this occasion money was spent profusely to such an extent, that a man who made a low estimate said, the cost had sometimes amounted to one million of denars. This same day was observed as the most important and the most glorious of all festivals; it was called the *Feast of Intercalation*, and on that day the king used to remit the taxes to his subjects.

The reason why they did not add the quarter of a day every fourth year as one complete day to one of the months or to the Epagomenæ, was this, that according to their views, not the days, but only the months are liable to being intercalated, because they had an aversion to increasing the number of the days; this was impossible by reason of the prescription of the law regarding the days on which *zamzama* (whispering prayer) must be said, if it is to be valid. If the number of days be increased by an additional day (the order of the days of *zamzama* according to the law, is disturbed).

p. 45. It was a rule that on each day a special sort of odoriferous plants and

flowers was put before the *Kisris*, and likewise a special drink, in a well regulated order, regarding which there was no difference of opinion.

The reason why they put the Epagomenæ at the end of Âbân Mâh, between this month and Âdhar Mâh (*lacuna*).

The Persians believe that the beginning of their year was fixed by the creation of the first man, and that this took place on the day Hurmuz of Farwardîn Mâh, whilst the sun stood in the point of the vernal equinox in the middle of heaven. This occurred at the beginning of the seventh millenium, according to their view of the millennia of the world.

The astrologers hold similar opinions, *viz.* that Cancer is the horoscope of the world. For in the first cycle of Sindhind the sun stands in the beginning of Aries above the middle between the two ends of the inhabitable world. In that case, Cancer is the horoscope, which sign according to their tenets, as we have mentioned, signifies the commencement of rotation and growth.

Others say, that Cancer was called the horoscope of the world, because of all the zodiacal signs, it stands nearest to the zenith of the inhabitable world, and because in the same sign is the ὕψωμα of Jupiter, which is a star of *moderate nature*; and as no growth is possible, except when *moderate* heat acts upon moist substances, it (*i.e.* Cancer) is fit to be the horoscope of the growth of the world.

According to a third view, Cancer was called so, because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete.

And other comparisons besides of a similar kind are brought forward by the astrologers.

Further, people relate: When Zoroaster arose and intercalated the years with the months, which up to that time had summed up from the day-quarters, time returned to its original condition. Then he ordered people in all future times to do with the day-quarters the same as he had done, and they obeyed his command. They did not call the intercalary month by a special name, nor did they repeat the name of another month, but they kept it simply in memory from one turn to another. Being, however, afraid that there might arise uncertainty as to the place, where the intercalary month would have again to be inserted, they transferred the five Epagomenæ and put them at the end of that month, to which the turn of intercalation had proceeded on the last occasion of intercalating. And as this subject was of great importance and of general use to high and low, to the king and to the subjects, and as it is required to be treated with knowledge, and to be carried out in conformity with nature (*i.e.* with real time), they used to postpone intercalation, when its time happened to occur at a period when the condition of the empire was disturbed by calamities; then they neglected

intercalation so long, until the day-quarters summed up to two months. Or, on the other hand, they anticipated intercalating the year at once by two months, when they expected that at the time of the next coming intercalation circumstances would distract their attention therefrom, as it has been done in the time of Yazdajird ben Sâbûr, for no other motive but that of precaution. That was the last intercalation which they carried out, under the superintendence of a Dastûr, called Yazdajird Alhizârî. Hizâr was an estate in the district of Iṣṭakhr in Fârs, from which he received his name. In that intercalation the turn had come to Âbân Mâh; therefore, the Epagomenæ were added at its end, and there they have remained ever since on account of their neglecting intercalation.

Months of the Sogdians.—Now I shall mention the months of the Magians of Transoxiana, the people of Khwârizm and of Sughd. Their months have the same number, and the same number of days as those of the Persians. Only between the beginning of the Persian and the Transoxanian months there is a difference, because the Transoxanians
46. append the five Epagomenæ to the end of their year, and commence the year with the 6th day of the Persian month Farwardîn, Khurdâdhrôz. So the beginning of the months is different until Âdhar Mâh; afterwards they have the same beginnings.

These are the names of the months of the Sughdians.

I. نومرد of 30 days.		VII. نغاز of 30 days.	
جرجن	,,	ابانج	,,
نيسن	,,	نوغ	,,
بساك	,,	سساغوغ	,,
أهناخندا	,,	زيمدا	,,
مرتخندا	,,	خشوم	,,

Some people add a Jîm (ج) at the end of نيسن and خشوم, and pronounce نيسنج and خوشوسج; they add a Nûn and a Jîm (نج) at the end of بساك and زيمدا and pronounce بساكنج and زيمدنج. They call each day by a special name, as is the custom with the Persians. These are the names of the thirty days—

1. خرمزد	11. خوبر	21. رامن
2. جوبنر	12. ماخ	22. واذ
3. اردأخوشت	13. تيش	23. دمست
4. خستغور	14. غش	24. دين
5. سپندأرمذ	15. دست	25. أرذغ
6. رذ	16. مخيش	26. استاذ
7. مزدد	17. سروش	27. مهن
8. دمست	18. رسن	28. رام جيد
9. انس	19. فرود	29. نشيند
10. ايمن	20. وخشور	30. نغر

Some people give the day خور the name سیر. The names of the five Epagomenæ are the following:—

I. خاوخست II. مخندن III. رخشن IV. وناذن V. اردمیس p. 47

Regarding these names the same difference exists among the Sughdians as among the Persians. They are also called by the following names:—

I. ژورد II. دیورد III. سردد IV. ماجرد V. میرزدة

These five days they add at the end of the last month حشوم. The Sughdian system of intercalation agreed with the practice of the 10 Persians, as also did their neglecting intercalation. The reason why there arose a difference between the beginnings of the Sughdian and the Persian years I shall describe hereafter.

Months of the Chorasmians.—The Khwârizmians, although a branch of the great tree of the Persian nation, imitated the Sughdians as to the beginning of the year and the place where they add the Epagomenæ. These are the names of their months—

I. روچنافو ناو سارچی	VII. اومری
اردوشت فوسیرج انکام	باناخن فاخسرثان راچیبك
هروداذ فوجیری	اروفو فیمجکا بحرلین
20 جیری فارازاك	وثمرفونافکانج انکام
همداذ	اهمن فویرد انکام
اخشیوری	اسپندارمچی فوخشوم

Others abbreviate these names and use them in this form—

I. نارسارچی	VII. اومری
اردوست	باناخن
هروداذ	ارو
جیری	ریمژد
همداذ	ارسمن
اخشیوری	اسپندارمچی

30 The thirty days they call by the following names:—

1. ریمژد	11. اخیر	21. رام
2. ارمین	12. ماة	22. واذ
3. اردوشت	13. جیری	23. دذو
4. اخشیوری	14. خورشت	24. دینی
5. اسپندارمچی	15. دذو	25. ارجوخی
6. هروداذ	16. فیخ	26. اشتاذ
7. همداذ	17. اسروف	27. اسمان p. 48.
8. دذو	18. رهن	28. راث
9. ارو	19. روجن	29. مرسپند
40 10. باناخن	20. اریخن	30. اونرغ

I have found that they begin the Epagomenæ, which are appended at

the end of the month Ispandârmajî, with the same name by which they begin the days of the month; the second day they call Azmîn, the third Ardawasht, and so on till the fifth day Ispandârmajî. Then they return and commence anew with the first day ابتدا, the 1st of the month Nâwasârjî. They do not use or even know special names for the Epagomenæ, but I believe that this fact simply arises from the same confusion, regarding these names, which prevails among the Persians and Sughdians. For after Ḳutaiba ben Muslim Albâhilî had killed their learned men and priests, and had burned their books and writings, they became entirely illiterate (forgot writing and reading), and relied in every knowledge or science which they required solely upon memory. In the long course of time they forgot that on which there had been a divergence of opinion, and kept by memory only that which had been generally agreed upon. But Allâh knows best!

As to the three identical names of days (the 8th, 15th, and 23rd,—*Dai* in Persian, *Dast* in Sughdian, *Dadhâ* in Khwârizmian), the Persians refer them to the following, and compound them with these, saying *Dai-ba-Ádar*, and *Dai-ba-Mihr*, and *Dai-ba-Dîn*. Of the Sughdians and Khwârizmians some do the same, and others connect the words in their language for "the first, the second, the third," with each of them.

In the early times of their empire the Persians did not use the week. For, first, it was in use among the nations of the west, and more particularly among the people of Syria and the neighbouring countries, because there the prophets appeared and made people acquainted with the first week, and that in it the world had been created, in conformity with the beginning of the Thora. From these the use of the week spread to the other nations. The pure Arabians adopted the week in consequence of
49. the vicinity of their country to that of the Syrians.

We have not heard that anybody has imitated the example of the Persians, Sughdians, and Khwârizmians, and has adopted their usage (of giving special names to the thirty days of the month, instead of dividing them into weeks), except the Copts, *i.e.* the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. For they, as we have mentioned, used the names of the thirty days till the time when Augustus, the son of Gajus, ruled over them. He wanted to induce them to intercalate the years, that they might always agree with the Greeks and the people of Alexandria. Into this subject, however, it would be necessary to inquire more closely. At that time precisely five years were wanting till the end of the great intercalation period. Therefore, he waited till five years of his rule had elapsed, and then he ordered people to intercalate one day in the months in every fourth year, in the same way as the Greeks do. Thereupon they dropped the use of the names of the single days, because, as people say, those who used and knew them would have required to invent a name for the intercalary day. They (the names of the days of the month) have not been handed down to posterity.

Months of the Egyptians.—The following are the names of their months:—

I.	Thot	30 days.	VII.	Phamenoth	30 days.
	Paophi	30 „		Pharmuthi	30 „
	Athyr	30 „		Pachon	30 „
	Choiak	30 „		Payni	30 „
	Tybi	30 „		Epiphi	30 „
	Mechir	30 „		[illegible]	30 „

These are the ancient names of the months. In the following we give the names which were modernized by one of their princes, after intercalation had been adopted:—

I. توت	VII. برمهات
بابة	برموذة
هتور	بشنس
كيهك	بونة
طوبة	ابيب
امشير	مسرى

Some people call the months كيهك, برمهات, بشنس, and مسرى by the names كياك, برمهوط, بشانس and ماسورى. These are the forms on which people agree; in some books, however, these names are found in forms somewhat different from those we have mentioned.

The five additional days they call, Ἐπαγομέναι, which means "*the small month*;" they are appended at the end of Mesori, and at the same place the intercalary day is added, in which case the Epagomenæ are six days. The leap-year they call البط, which means "*the sign*." p. 5

Months of the People of the West.—'Abû-al'abbâs Alâmulî relates in his *Kitâb-dalâ'il-alkûbla*, that the *Western people* (of Spain?) use months, the beginnings of which agree with those of the Coptic months. They call them by the following names:—

I.	May	30 days.	VII.	November	30 days.
	June	30 „		December	30 „
	July	30 „		January	30 „
	August	30 „		February	30 „
	September	30 „		March	30 „
	October	30 „		April	30 „

Then follow the five Epagomenæ at the end of the year.

Months of the Greeks.—The months of the Greeks are always twelve in number. Their names are these:—

I.	Ἰανουάριος	31 days.	IV.	Ἀπρίλις	30 days.
	Φεβρουάριος	23 „		Μαΐος	31 „
	Μάρτιος	31 „		Ἰούνιος	30 „

VII. Ἰούλιος	31 days.	X. Ὀκτώβριος	31 days.
Αὔγουστος	31 „	Νοέμβριος	30 „
Σεπτέμβριος	30 „	Δεκέμβριος	31 „

The sum of the days of their year is 365, and as in all four years the four quarters of a day are summed up, they append it as one complete day to the month February, so that this month has in every fourth year 29 days. He who first induced people to intercalate the years was Julius, called Dictator, who ruled over them in bygone times, long before Moses. He gave them the months with such a distribution (of the days), and with such names as we have mentioned. He induced them to intercalate the day-quarters into them (the months) in every 1461st year, when the day-quarters had summed up to one complete year. So that (this intercalation) preserved these (the months, keeping them in agreement with real time). This intercalation they called the "*great one*," after they had called the intercalation, which takes place every four years, the "*small one*." This "small" intercalation, however, they did not introduce until a long period had elapsed after the death of the king (Julius Cæsar). A characteristic of their system is the division of the days of the months into weeks, for reasons which we have mentioned before.

51. The author of the *Kitâb-ma'khadh-almawâḳît* (method for the deduction of certain times and dates) thinks that the Greeks and other nations, who are in the habit of intercalating the *day-quarter*, had fixed the sun's entering Aries upon the beginning of April, which corresponds to the Syrian Nîsân, as the beginning of their era. And we confess that in his account he comes pretty near the truth. For astronomical observation has taught that the fraction which follows the (365) days of the solar year, is less than one complete quarter of a day, and we ourselves have observed that the sun's entering the first part of Aries precedes the beginning of Nîsân. Therefore that which he mentions is possible, and even likely.

Further on he says, speaking of the Greeks, that "they, on perceiving that the beginning of their year had changed its place, had recourse to the years of the Indians; that they then intercalated into their year the difference between the two years (viz., the Greek year and the solar year), and that in consequence the sun's entering the first part of Aries again took place at the beginning of Nîsân. If we on our side do the same, Nîsân returns to its original place." He has tried to give an example, but has not finished it, being incapable of doing so. On this occasion he has shown his ignorance, as he, in his account of the Greeks, has also rendered it evident that he is inimical to the Greeks, and partial to others. The fact is, that according to the Indian system he has converted the difference between the Greek year and the solar year into fractions, putting it down as 729 seconds. Then he changes also the day

into seconds, and divides them by that difference. So he gets 118 years 6 months and $6\frac{2}{3}$ days. This would be the space of time in which the calendar would necessitate the intercalation of one complete day, on account of this plus-difference. Further, he says, "Now, if we intercalate the past years of the Greek era," which were at his time 1,225 years, "the sun's entering the first part of Aries again takes place at the beginning of Nîsân." But he has dropped his example, and has not intercalated the years. If he had done so, his conclusions would have led to the contrary of what he says and maintains, and the beginning of Nîsân would come near the sun's entering the first part of Taurus. For that date, which he wanted to treat as an example, would necessitate the intercalation of $10\frac{1}{3}$ days. Now the Greek year being too short (according to him), the beginning of Nîsân precedes the sun's entering the first part of Aries, and the time which it would be necessary to intercalate (*portio intercalanda*), would have to be added to the first of Nîsân, so as to proceed as far as to the 10th of it.

Now I should like to know which equinox this man, who is so partial to the Indians, meant. For the vernal equinox took place according to their system at that time six or seven days before the first of Nîsân. I should further like to know at what time the Greeks did what he relates of them. For they are so deeply imbued with, and so clever in geometry and astronomy, and they adhere so strictly to logical arguments, that they are far from having recourse to the theories of those who derive the bases of their knowledge from divine inspiration, when their artifices desert them and they are required to come forward with an argument; not to mention the sciences of philosophy and theology, physics and p. 52. arts, cultivated among the Greeks. "However, everybody acts according to his own mode, and each community enjoys what they have got of their own." (Sûra xvii. 86.) That man had not read the Almagest, and had not compared it with the most famous book of the Indians, called the *Canon Sindhind*. The difference between them must be evident to anybody in whom the slightest spark of sagacity is left.

To something similar Ḥamza ben Alḥasan Alisfahânî has applied himself in his treatise on the Naurôz, at the time when he was partial to the Persian mode of treating the solar year, because they reckoned it as 365 days and $6\frac{1}{4\,0\,0}$ hours, while the Greeks neglected in their intercalation the fraction following the six hours. As a proof he adduced that Muḥammad ben Mûsâ ben Shâkir, the astronomer, had explained this subject, and had enlarged on it in one of his books on the solar year, and that he had produced the arguments for it, and pointed out the errors of the ancients, who had held erroneous views in this respect.

Now, we have examined the astronomical observations of Muḥammad ben Mûsâ, and of his brother 'Aḥmad, and we have found that they prove only that these fractions are less than six hours. The book to which Alisfahânî refers, is attributed to Thâbit ben Ḳurra, because he

was a *protégé* of those people, entirely mixed up with them, and because it was he who polished for them their scientific work. He had collected the materials of this book with the object of explaining the fact of the solar years not being always equal to each other, on account of the motion of the apogee. With all this he was compelled to assume equal circles, and equal motions along with their times, in order to derive thereby the mean motion of the sun. But he did not find equal circles, except those which move in an excentric plane, described (*viz.* the circles) round a point within it, which point is assumed exclusively for these circles. And this circle, which was sought for, extends the six hours by additional fractions (*i.e.* its time of revolution is 365 days 6 hours + *a fraction*), as Ḥamza has related. However, such a circle is not called a solar year, for the solar year is, as we have defined already, that one, in which all natural occurrences which are liable to growth and to decay return to their original condition.

Jewish Months.—The Hebrews and all the Jews, who claim to be related to Moses, have the following twelve months:—

I. Nîsân	of 30 days.	VI. Tishrî	of 30 days.
Iyâr	of 29 „	Marḥeshwân	of 29 „
Sîwân	of 30 „	Kislew	of 30 „
Tammûz	of 29 „	Ṭêbeth	of 29 „
Âbh	of 30 „	Sheḥaṭ (Shebhaṭ)	of 30 „
Elûl	of 29 „	Adhâr	of 29 „

53. The sum total of their days is 354, being identical with the number of days of the lunar year. If they simply used the lunar year as it is, the sum of the days of their year and the number of their months would be identical. However, after having left Egypt for the desert Al-tîh, after having ceased to be the slaves of the Egyptians, having been delivered from their oppression, and altogether separated from them, the Israelites received the ordinances and the laws of God, described in the second book of the Thora. And this event took place in the night of the 15th Nîsân *at full moon* and *spring time*. They were ordered to observe this day, as it is said in the second book of the Thora (Exodus xii. 17, 18): "Ye shall observe this day as an ordinance to your generations for ever on the fourteenth of the first month." By the "*first month*" the Lord does not mean Tishrî, but Nîsân; because in the same book he commands Moses and Aaron, that the month of passover should be the first of their months, and the beginning of the year (Exodus xii. 2).

Further, Moses spake unto the people: "Remember the day when ye came out from bondage. Therefore ye shall not eat leavened bread on this day in that month when the trees blossom." In consequence, they were compelled to use the solar year and the lunar months; the solar year in order that the 14th Nîsân should fall in the beginning of spring,

when the leaves of the trees and the blossoms of the fruit trees come forth; the lunar months in order that, on the same day, the body of the moon should be lit up completely, standing in the sign of Libra. And as the time in question would naturally advance for a certain number of days (the sum of the days of twelve lunar months not being a complete year), it was necessary for the same reason to append to the other months those days, as soon as they made up one complete month. They added these days as a complete month, which they called the *First Adhâr*, whilst they called the original month of this name the *Second Adhâr*, because of its following immediately behind its namesake. The leap-year they called *'Ibbûr* (עִבּוּר), which is to be derived from *Me'ubbereth* (מְעֻבֶּרֶת), meaning in Hebrew, "*a pregnant woman.*" For they compared the insertion of the supernumerary month into the year, to a woman's bearing in her womb a foreign organism.

According to another opinion, the First Adhâr is the original month, the name of which without any addition was used in the common year, and the Second Adhâr is to be the leap-month, in order that it should have its place at the end of the year, for this reason, that according to the command of the Thôrâ, Nîsân was to be the first of their months. This, however, is not the case. That the Second Adhâr is the original month, is evident from the fact, that its place and length, the number of its days, the feast- and fast-days which occur in it, are not liable to any changes. And of all these days nothing whatsoever occurs in the First Adhâr of a leap-year. Further, they make it a rule that, during the Second Adhâr, the sun should always stand in the sign of Pisces, whilst in the First Adhâr of a leap-year he must be in the sign of Amphora.

Five Cycles.—Now for the leap-years they wanted a certain principle of arrangement as a help to facilitate their practical use. Therefore they looked out for cycles which were based upon solar years, consisting of lunar months. Of those cycles they found the following five:— p. 54.

I. The cycle of 8 years consisting of 99 months, of which there are 3 leap-months.

II. The cycle of 19 years, called the *Minor Cycle*, consisting of 235 months, of which there are 7 leap-months.

III. The cycle of 76 years, consisting of 940 months, of which there are 28 leap-months.

IV. The cycle of 95 years, called the *Middle Cycle*, consisting of 1,176 months, of which there are 35 leap-months.

V. The cycle of 532 years, called the *Major Cycle*, consisting of 6,580 months, of which there are 196 leap-months.

Of these cycles they choose that one, the observation of which would be the easiest and simplest. This quality is peculiar to the cycles of 8 and of 19 years, with this difference, however, that the latter one agrees

more closely with solar years. For this cycle contains, according to them, 6,939 days $16\frac{595}{1080}$ hours. Those small particles of an hour they call *Ḥalaḳs* (חַלָקִים), of which 1,080 make one hour. If, therefore, you have got minutes, *i.e.* the 60th parts of an hour, and you want to change them into Ḥalaḳs, you multiply them by 18, and you get the corresponding number of Ḥalaḳs. And if you want the converse operation, you multiply the number of Ḥalaḳs by 200, and you got a sum of thirds of an hour (*i.e.* the 60th parts of a second); these fractions you can then raise to wholes.

Now, if we reduce this cycle (of 19 years) to fractions and change it into Ḥalaḳs, we get the following sum of Ḥalaḳs:—

179,876,755, expressed in Indian ciphers.

The solar year is, according to them, 365 days $5\frac{270}{1080}$ hours long; this latter fraction is nearly identical with 990 Ḥalaḳs. If we now also reduce the solar year into Ḥalaḳs, we get the sum of—

9,467,190 Ḥalaḳs.

If you finally divide by this number the number of the Ḥalaḳs of the cycle of 19 years, you get as the quotient, 19 solar years, with a remainder
p. 55. of 145 Ḥalaḳs, which is nearly the 7th part of an hour and a fraction.

If we perform the same operation with the cycle of 8 years containing 2,923 days 12 hours and 747 Ḥalaḳs, we get as the sum of its Ḥalaḳs the number—

75,777,867

If we divide this sum by the sum of the Ḥalaḳs of the solar year, we get 8 solar years, and a remainder of 1 day 13 hours and 387 Ḥalaḳs, which is nearly $\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{5}$ (*i.e.* $\frac{1}{10}$) hour.

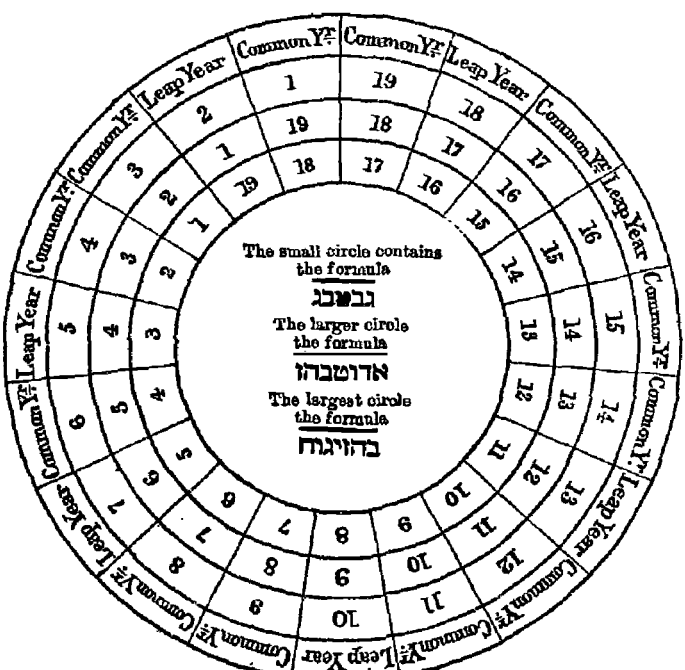
Hence it is evident that the cycle of 19 years comes nearest to real time, and is the best of all cycles which have been used. The other cycles are simply composed of duplications of the cycle of 19 years. Therefore the Jews preferred this cycle, and regulated thereby intercalation.

The three Ordines Intercalationis.—Now, although they agreed on the quality of the year as to the order of intercalation in the *Maḥzôr* (מחזור cycle), when it has to take place, and when not, they differed among each other regarding the nature of the beginning of the Maḥzôrs. And this has also produced a difference regarding the order of intercalation in the Maḥzôr. For some take the current year of the Æra Adami, of which you want to know whether it is a common year or a leap-year, and reduce the number of years to Maḥzôrs by dividing them by 19; then you get complete Maḥzôrs, and as a remainder, the years of the Maḥzôr not yet finished, including the current year. And then the order of the leap-years is fixed according to the formula בהזיגוח *i.e.* the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 16th, and 18th years.

Others take the years of the same Æra Adami, subtract one year, and fix the order of the leap-years in the remainder of the years of the incomplete Maḥzôr according to the formula אדוטבהז, *i.e.* the 1st, 4th, 6th, 9th, 12th, 15th, 17th years. These two cycles are attributed to the Jews of Syria.

Others again subtract from the sum of years two years, and compute the order of the leap-years by the formula גבטבג, *i.e.* the 3rd, 5th (5=3+2), 8th, 11th, 14th (5+3+3+3), 16th (16=14+2), and 19th (19=16+3) years.

This latter mode of arrangement is the most extensively diffused among the Jews; they prefer it to others, because they attribute its invention to the Babylonians. All three modes of computation are to be traced back to one and the same principle, on which there cannot be any difference of opinion, as is illustrated by the following circular figure:—



The first (outer) circle indicates the quality of the year, whether it is a common year or a leap-year. The three other circles contain the three *formulæ*, indicating the order of the leap-years in the Maḥsôrs; the
p. 56. second circle, the formula בהזיגוח; the third circle, the formula אדוטבהו; and the inner circle, the formula גבטבג.

The cycles which we have mentioned hitherto, are derived from the moon, though not exclusively. The solar cycle consists of 28 years, and serves to indicate on what days of the week the solar years commence. For if the Jewish year had simply 365 days without the quarter-day, the beginning of the year would in every seven years return to the same week-day. Since, however, they are intercalated once in four years, the beginning does not return to the same day, except in 28 years, *i.e.* 4×7 years. Likewise the other cycles, heretofore mentioned, do not, on being completed, return to the same week-day, except the largest cycle, on account of its arising from a duplication of the cycle of 19 years with the solar cycle.

The three kinds of the Jewish Year.—I say further: If the Jewish years had simply the first two qualities, *i.e.* were either common years or leap-years, it would be easy to learn their beginnings, and to distinguish between the two qualities which are proper to them, provided the above-mentioned formula of computation for the years of the Maḥzôr be known. The Jewish year, however, is a threefold one. For they have made an arrangement among themselves, that New Year shall not fall on a Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, *i.e.* on the days of the sun and his two star. (Mercury and Venus); and that Passover, by which the beginning of Nîsân is regulated, shall not fall on the days of the inferior stars, *i.e.* on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for reasons on which we shall hereafter enlarge as much as possible. Thereby they were compelled either to postpone or to advance New Year and Passover, when they happened to fall on one of the days mentioned.

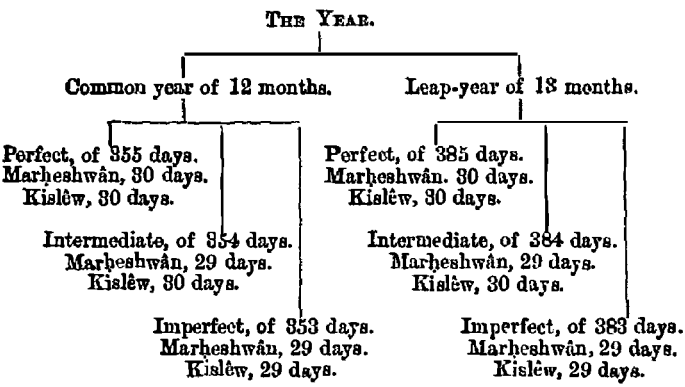
For this reason their year consists of the following three species:—

I. The year called حسارين, *i.e.* the imperfect one (חֲסֵרָה), in which the months Marḥeshwân and Kislêw have only 29 days.

II. The year called كسدران, *i.e.* the intermediate (כְּסִדְרָן), lit. *secundum ordinem suum*, in which Marḥeshwân has 29 days, and Kislêw 30 days.

III. The year called سلیم, *i.e.* the perfect one (שְׁלֵימָא), in which both Marḥeshwân and Kislêw have 30 days.

Each of these three species of years may be either a common year or a leap-year. So we get a combination of six species of years, as we have here illustrated in the form of a genealogical diagram, and distributed in the following representation.



For the doduction of these differences they have many modes of computation as well as tables, which we shall not fail to explain hereafter.

Determination of New Moon.—Regarding their knowledge of the beginning of the month, and the mode in which it is computed and used, the Jews are divided into two sects, one of which are the Rabbanites. They derive the beginning of the month by means of calculation from the mean motions of the two luminaries (sun and moon), no regard being had as to whether new moon is visible already or not. For it was their object to have a conventional time, that was to begin from the conjunction of sun and moon. By the following accident they were, as they relate themselves, induced to adopt this system: at the time when they returned to Jerusalem, they posted guards upon the tops of the mountains to observe new moon, and they ordered them to light a fire and to make a smoke, which was to be a signal for them that new moon in fact had been seen. Now, on account of the enmity which existed between them and the Samaritans, these latter went and sent up the smoke from the mountain one day before new moon was seen. This practice they continued during several months, at the beginnings of which heaven always happened to be clouded. Finally, people in Jerusalem found out this, observing that new moon, on the 3rd and 4th of the month, rose above the horizon from the east. Hence it was evident that the Samaritans had deceived them. Therefore they had recourse to the scholars of their time, in order to be protected by a system of calculation against the deceitful practices of their enemies, to which they were exposed by their present method.

In order to prove that it was legally permitted to fix the beginning of the month by calculation instead of observation, they referred to the duration of the deluge. For they assert that Noah computed and fixed the beginnings of the months by calculation, because heaven was covered p. 58.

and clouded for so long as six months, during which time neither new moon nor any other phase of the moon could be observed.

The mathematicians, therefore, computed for them the cycles, and taught them how to find, by calculation, the conjunctions and the appearance of new moon, viz. that between new moon and the conjunction the time of 24 hours must elapse. And this comes near the truth. For if it was the corrected conjunction, not the mean one, the moon would in these hours move forward about 13 degrees, and her elongation from the sun would be about 12 degrees.

This reform was brought about nearly 200 years after Alexander. Before that time they used to observe the *Teḳûfôth* (תְּקוּפוֹת), *i.e.* the year-quarters, on the computation of which we shall enlarge hereafter, and to compare them with the conjunction of that month, to which the Teḳûfâ in question was to be referred. If they found that the conjunction preceded the Teḳûfâ by about 30 days, they intercalated a month in this year, *e.g.* if they found that the conjunction of Tammûz preceded the Teḳûfâ of Tammûz, *i.e.* the summer-solstice by about 30 days, they intercalated in that year a month Tammûz, so that it had one Tammûz and a second Tammûz (תַּמּוּז וְתַמּוּז). In the same way they acted with the other Teḳûfôth.

Some Rabbanites, however, deny that such guards were posted, and that they made a smoke as a signal. According to their opinion, the cause of the deduction of this system of calculation was the following: the scholars and the priests of the Israelites, feeling convinced that their people would be scattered and dispersed in consequence of the last destruction of Jerusalem, as they thought, were afraid that their compatriots, being scattered all over the world, and solely relying upon the appearance of new moon, which of course in different countries would be different for them, might, on account of this, fall into dissensions, and a schism in their doctrine might take place. Therefore they invented these calculations,—a work which was particularly attended to by Eliezer ben Pârûaḥ, and ordered people to adhere to them, to use them, to return to them, wherever and under whatever circumstances they lived, so that a schism among them might be avoided.

The second sect are the *Mîldâites*, who derive the beginning of the month from the conjunction; they are also called *Alḳurrâ* and *Al'ishma'iyya*, because they demand that people shall only follow the wording of the text, no regard being had to considerations and analogies, etc., even if it may be illogical and impracticable.

One party of them is called the *'Ânânites*, who derived their name from 'Ânân, the head of the emigration (רֹאשׁ גָּלוּתָא), who lived between 100 and 110 years ago. A head of the emigration must of necessity be one of the descendants of David; an offspring of another family would not be fit for this office. Their common people relate, that only he is qualified who, standing upright, can reach his knees with the tops of his

fingers; just as people relate such things of the prince of the true believers, 'Alî ben 'Abî Ṭâlib, and of those of his descendants who are qualified for the Imâma and the rule of the community (the Muhammadan world).

The genealogy of this 'Ânân is the following:—

I. ענן בן דניאל ב' שאול ב' ענן ב' דוד
VI. ב' חסדאי ב' כפנאי ב' בסתנאי ב' הנומר ב' זוטרא
XI. ב' רב הונא ב' שפטיה ב' הונא ב' נתן ב' אבא מר
XVI. ב' רבנא עקיבא ב' שבניא ב' זכאי ב' חזקיא ב' שמעיא
XXI. ב' שפתיא ב' יוחנן ב' רצציתא ב' ענן ב' ישעיא
XXVI. ב' זכריא ב' ברכיא ב' עקוב ב' חנניא ב' בסדיא
XXXI. ב' מעיזיא ב' פדיה ב' זרבבל ב' שאלתיאל ב' יהויכין
XXXVI. ב' יהויקים ב' יהואחז ב' יאשיה ב' אחזיא ב' יהורם
XLI. ב' יהושפט ב' אסה ב' אביה ב' רחבעם ב' שלמה
XLVI. ב דוד

p. 59.

He opposed a community of Rabbanites in many of their observances. He fixed the beginning of the month by the appearance of the new moon in a similar way, as is prescribed in Islâm, not caring on what day of the week the beginning of the month happened to fall. He gave up the system of computation of the Rabbanites, and made the intercalation of a month depend upon the observation of barley-seed in 'Irâk and Syria between the 1st and the 14th Nisân. If he found a first-fruit fit for friction and reaping, he left the year as a common year; if he did not find that, he intercalated the year. The mode of prognosticating the state of the corn was practically this, that one of his followers went out on the 23rd Shebât, to examine—in Syria and the countries of a similar climate—the state of the barley-seed. If he found that the Safâ, *i.e.* the prickles of the beard of the ear of corn, had already come out, he counted from that day till Passover 50 days; if he found that it had not yet come out, he intercalated a month into the year. And some added the intercalary month to Shefaṭ, so that there was a *Shefaṭ* and an *U-Shefaṭ*; whilst others added it to Adhâr, so that there was an *Adhâr* and a *We-Adhâr*. The Ânânites mostly use Shefaṭ, not Adhâr, whilst the Rabbanites use exclusively Adhâr.

This system of prognosticating the state of the corn is a different one according to the difference of the air and the climate of the countries. Therefore it would be necessary to make a special rule for every place, and not to rely upon the rule made for one certain place, because this would not be applicable elsewhere.

Syrian Months.—The Christians in Syria, 'Irâk, and Khurâsân have combined Greek and Jewish months. For they use the months of the Greeks, but have adopted the 1st of the Greek October as the beginning

of their year, that it might be nearer to the Jewish new-year, because Tishrî of the Jews always precedes that date a little. And they call their months by Syrian names, some of which agree with the Jewish names, whilst others differ. People have derived these names from the Syrians, *i.e.* the Nabatæans, the inhabitants of Sawâd; the Sawâd of 'Irâḳ being called Sûristân. But I do not see why they derive these months from them, because in Islâm they use the months of the Arabs, and at the time of heathenism they used the months of the Persians. Others say that Sûristân means Syria. If that be the case, the inhabitants of this country were Christians before the time of Islâm, and held a middle position between Jewish and Greek theories.

The names of their months are these:—

I.	Tishrîn ḳedîm	of 31 days.	VI.	Nîsân	of 30 days.
	Tishrîn ḥrâi	of 30 „		Iyâr	of 31 „
	Kânûn ḳedîm	of 31 „		Ḥazîrân	of 30 „
	Kânûn ḥrâi	of 31 „		Tammûz	of 31 „
	Shebâṭ	of 28 „		Âbh	of 31 „
	Adhâr	of 31 „		Îlûl	of 30 „

In the month Shebâṭ they intercalate one day every four years, so that it then has 29 days. Regarding the quality of their year they agree with the Greeks.

These months have become widely known, so that even the Muslims adopted them, and fixed thereby the dates of practical life. The words *Ḳedîm* (primus) and *Ḥrâi* (postremus) have been translated into Arabic, and in the word يرا they have added an Elif, so as to make it يرا, because a single *yâ* (without *Tashdîd*) is disagreeable to the organ of the Arabs, if this Elif is not added.

Months of the Arabs.—The Arabs have the following twelve months:—

I.	Almuḥarram.	VII.	Rajab.
	Ṣafar.		Sha'bân.
	Rabî' I.		Ramaḍân.
	Rabî' II.		Shawwâl.
	Jumâdâ I.		Dhû-alḳa'da.
	Jumâdâ II.		Dhû-alḥijja.

Regarding the etymology of these names various opinions have been advanced, *Almuḥarram, e.g.* was called so, because it was one of the *Ḥurum*, *i.e.* the four sacred months.

Ṣafar was called so, because in it people used to procure their provisions, going out in a company of men which was called *Ṣafariyya*.

The two months *Rabî'* were called so on account of the coming forth of the flowers and blossoms and of the continual fall of dew and rain.

All of which refers to the nature of that season which we call "autumn," but which the Arabs called "spring" (*Rabî'*).

The two months *Jumâdâ* were called so, because in them the water *froze* (جمد).

Rajab was called so, because in it people formed the intention of travelling, there being no fear of the evils of war. For "*rajba*" means *sustentaculum* (a thing by means of which a tree is propped up), and hence people say, "*a propped up (murajjab) palm-tree which bears a heavy load of fruit.*"

Sha'bân was called so, because in it the tribes were *dispersed*.

Ramaḍân was called so, because of the stones being *roasted* by the intense heat.

Shawwâl was called so, because of the increasing and the decreasing of the heat.

Dhû-alḳâ'da was called so, because in it people *stayed* in their homes.

Dhû-alḥijja was called so, because in it people performed the *Ḥajj*, i.e. the pilgrimage.

We found, however, also other names of the months of the Arabs, which were given to them by their ancestors. They are the following:—

I. Almu'tamir.	VII. Al'aṣamm.	p. 61.
Nâjir.	'Âdil.	
Khawwân.	Nâfiḳ.	
Ṣuwân.	Wâghil.	
Ḥantam.	Huwâ'.	
Zabbâ.	Burak.	

The forms as well as the order of these names sometimes differ from what we have given. One of the poets, *e.g.* has comprised them in the following verses:—

"We have commenced with *Mu'tamir*, *Nâjira*, and *Khawwân*, to which follows *Ṣuwân*.

And with *Zabbâ* comes *Bâ'ida*, its next follower. Then comes the turn of *'Aṣamm*, in which hatred was deaf.

And *Wâghila*, *Nâṭila*, and *'Âdila*, all three are noble and beautiful.

Then comes *Ranna*, and after it *Burak*. Now are complete the months of the year, as you may count with your fingers."

In the following we shall explain the meanings of these names according to the statements of the dictionaries:—

Almu'tamir means that it "*obeys*" all the decrees of fortune, which the year is going to bring.

Nâjir is derived from *najr*, which means "intense heat," as it is used in the following verse:—

"A stinking water, on account of which a man turns his face aside,
Even he who is tortured by thirst, if he tasted it in a '*boiling hot*' month."

Khawwân is the form فَعَّال of the verb "*to deceive*," and *Ṣuwân* is the form فُعَل of the verb "*to preserve, to take care*." And these significations agreed with the natures of the months at the time when they were first employed as names for them.

Zabbâ means a "*great and frequently occurring calamity*." The month was called so, because in it there was much and frequent fighting. 10

Bâ'id, too, received its name from the fighting in it, for many people used to "*perish*" in it. This circumstance is expressed in the following proverb: "*All that is portentous happens between Jumâdâ and Rajab*." For in this month people were in great haste and eagerness to carry out whatever blood revenge or warlike expeditions they were upon, before the month Rajab came in.

'Aṣamm was called so, because in it people abstained from fighting, so that the clash of weapons was not heard.

Wâghil means "*one who comes to a drinking-party without having been invited*." This month was called so, because it suddenly comes in after Ramaḍân, and because in Ramaḍân there was much wine-drinking, on account of the next following months being the months of pilgrimage. 20

Nâṭil means "*a measure, a pot of wine*." The month was called so, because in it people indulged in drinking debauches, and frequently used that pot.

'Âdil is derived from "*'adl*" (which means either "to be just" or "to turn aside"). The month was called so, because it was one of the months of pilgrimage, when they used to abstain from the use of the Ṇâṭil, *i.e.* the wine-pot. 30

Ranna was called so, because the sheep were "*crying*" on account of the drawing near of the time when they were to be killed.

Burak was called so, because of the kneeling down of the camels on being led to the slaughtering-place.

A better versification of these names than the above-mentioned one is that by the Wazîr 'Ismâ'îl ben 'Abbâd:—

"You wanted to know the months of the pagan Arabs. Take them according to the order of Muḥarram (Ṣafar, etc.), of which they partake.

). 62. First comes *Mu'tamir*, then *Nâjir*; and *Khawwân* and *Ṣuwân* are connected by one tie. 40

Ḥanîn, Zabbâ, 'Aṣamm, Âdil, Nâṭiḳ with *Wagḥl*, and *Ranna* with *Burak*."

If the etymologies of these two classes of names of the months are such as we have related, we must suppose that between the two periods of giving the names there was a great interval of time. Or else our explanations and etymologies would not be correct. For in one class of the months the highest pitch of the heat is Ṣafar, whilst in the other it is Ramaḍân; and this (that the greatest heat should be either in Ṣafar or in Ramaḍân) is not possible at one and the same period, or at two periods which are not very far distant from each other.

Intercalation of the Ancient Arabs.—At the time of paganism the Arabs used their months in a similar way to the Muslims; their pilgrimage went wandering around through the four seasons of the year. But then they desired to perform the pilgrimage at such time as their merchandise (hides, skins, fruit, etc.) was ready for the market, and to fix it according to an invariable rule, so that it should occur in the most agreeable and abundant season of the year. Therefore they learned the system of intercalation from the Jews of their neighbourhood, about 200 years before the Hijra. And they used intercalation in a similar way to the Jews, adding the difference between their year and the solar year, when it had summed up to one complete month, to the months of their year. Then their intercalators themselves, the so-called *Ḳalâmis* of the tribe Kinâna, rose, after pilgrimage had been finished, delivered a speech to the people at the fair, and intercalated the month, calling the next following month by the name of that month in which they were. The Arabs consented to this arrangement and adopted the decision of the *Ḳalammas*. This proceeding they called "*Nasî'*," *i.e. postponement*, because in every second or third year they *postponed* the beginning of the year for a month, as it was required by the progression of the year. One of their poets has said:—

> "We have an intercalator, under whose banner we march;
> He declares the months profane or sacred, as he likes."

The first intercalation applied to Muḥarram; in consequence Ṣafar was called Muḥarram, Rabî' I. was called Ṣafar, and so on; and in this way all the names of all the months were changed. The second intercalation applied to Ṣafar; in consequence the next following month (Rabî' I.) was called Ṣafar. And this went on till intercalation had passed through all twelve months of the year and returned to Muḥarram. Then they commenced anew what they had done the first time.

The Arabs counted the cycles of intercalation and fixed thereby their dates. They said for instance: "From the time x till the time y the years have turned round one cycle."

But now, if notwithstanding intercalation it became evident that a month progressed beyond its proper place in the four seasons of the year, in consequence of the accumulation of the fractions of the solar year, and of the remainder of the *plus-difference* between the solar year

and the lunar year, to which latter they had added this plus-difference, they made a second intercalation. Such a progression they were able to recognize from the rising and setting of the Lunar Mansions. This went on till the time when the Prophet fled from Makka to Madîna, when the turn of intercalation, as we have mentioned, had come to Sha'bân.

68. Now, this month was called Muḥarram, and Ramaḍân was called Ṣafar. Then the Prophet waited till the "*farewell pilgrimage*," on which occasion he addressed the people, and said: "The season, the time has gone round as it was on the day of God's creating the heavens and the earth." (Sûra ix. 38.) By which he meant that the months had returned to their original places, and that they had been freed from what the Arabs used to do with them. Therefore, the "*farewell pilgrimage*," was also called "*the correct pilgrimage*." Thereupon intercalation was prohibited and altogether neglected.

Months of the Themudeni.—'Abû-Bakr Muḥammad ben Duraid Al'azdî relates in his *Kitâb-alwishâḥ*, that the people Thamûd called the months by the following names:—

I. Mûjib i.e. Muḥarram.	VII. Haubal.
Mûjir.	Mauhâ.
Mûrid.	Daimur.
Mulzim.	Dâbir.
Muṣdir.	Ḥaifal.
Haubar.	Musbil.

He says that they commenced their year with the month Daimur, *i.e.* Ramaḍân. The following is a versification of these names by 'Abû-Sahl 'Îsâ ben Yaḥyâ Almasîḥî:—

"The months of Thamûd are *Mûjib*, *Mûjir*, *Mûrid*; then follow *Mulzim* and *Muṣdir*.
Then come *Haubar* and *Haubal*, followed by *Mauhâ* and *Daimur*.
Then come *Dâbir*, and *Ḥaifal*, and *Musbil*, till it is finished, the most celebrated among them."

Arabic Names of Days.—The Arabs did not, like the Persians, give special names to the single days of the month, but they had special names for each three nights of every month, which were derived from the state of the moon and her light during them. Beginning with the first of the month, they called—

The first three nights (1st–3rd) *ghurar*, which is the plural of *ghurra*, and means *the first of everything*. According to others they were called so, because during them the new moon appeared like *a blaze on the forehead of a horse*.

The second three nights (4th–6th) *nufal*, from *tanaffala*, which means, "*beginning to make a present without any necessity*." Others call them *shuhb*, *i.e.* the white nights.

The third three nights (7th–9th) *tusa'*, because the *ninth* night is the last of them. Others call them *buhr*, because in them the darkness of the night is particularly *thick*.

The fourth three nights (10th–12th) *'ushar*, because the *tenth* night is the first of them.

The fifth three nights (13th–15th) *bid*, because they are *white* by the shining of the moon from the beginning of the night till the end.

The sixth three nights (16th–18th) *dura'*, because they are black at the beginning like the sheep *with a black head and a white body*. p. 64.
Originally the comparison was taken from a coat of mail in which people are clad, because the colour of the head of him who is dressed in it, differs from the colour of the rest of his body.

The seventh three nights (19th–21st) *zulam*, because in most cases they were *dark*.

The eighth three nights (22nd–24th) *ḥanâdis* (from *ḥindis*=extremely dark). Others call them *dukm*, on account of their being dark.

The ninth three nights (25th–27th) *da'âdi'*, because they are remainders (or last parts). Others derive it from the mode of walking of the camels, *viz.*, *stretching forth the one foot, to which the other is quickly following*.

The tenth three nights (28th–30th) *miḥâḳ*, on account of the *waning* of the moon and the month.

Besides, they distinguished certain nights of the month by special names, *e.g.* the last night of the month was called *sirâr*, because in it the moon *hides herself*; it was also called *faḥama* on account of there being no light in it, and *barâ'*, because the sun has nothing to do with it. Likewise the last day of the month was called *naḥir*, because it is in the *naḥr* (throat) of the month. The 13th night is called *sawâ'*, the 14th the night of "*badr*," because in it the moon is *full*, and her light complete. For of everything that has become complete you say *badara*; *e.g.* 10,000 dirhams are called one *badra*, because that is supposed to be the most complete and the last number, although it is not so in reality.

The Arabs used in their months also the seven days of the week, the ancient names of which are the following:—

1. 'Awwal, *i.e.* Sunday.
2. 'Ahwan.
3. Jubâr.
4. Dubâr.
5. Mu'nis.
6. 'Arûba.
7. Shiyâr.

They are mentioned by one of their poets in the following verse:—

"I strongly hope that I shall remain alive, and that my day (of death) will be either *'Awwal*, or *'Ahwan*, or *Jubâr*,

Or the following day, *Dubâr*, or if I get beyond that, either *Mu'nis* or *'Arûba* or *Shiyâr*."

Afterwards the Arabs gave them the following new names:—

Al-'aḥad,	*i.e.* one.	
Al-iṯnân,	„ two.	
Al-thulathâ,	„ three.	
Al-'arbi'â	„ four.	
Al-khamîs	„ five.	
Al-jum'â,	„ gathering.	
Al-sabt,	„ sabbath.	10

The Arabs fixed the beginning of the month by the appearance of new moon, and the same has been established as a law in Islâm, as the Lord has said (Sûra ii. 185): "They will ask thee regarding the new moons. Speak: they are certain moments of time for the use of mankind (in general) and for pilgrimage."

Determination of the length of Ramadan, the Month of Fasting.—Some years ago, however, a pagan sect started into existence somehow or other. They considered how best to employ the interpretation (of the Koran), and to attach themselves to the system of the exoteric school of interpreters who, as they maintain, are the Jews and 20
Christians. For these latter have astronomical tables and calculations, by means of which they compute their months, and derive the knowledge of their fast days, whilst Muslims are compelled to observe new moon, and to inquire into the different phases of the light of the moon, and into that which is common to both her visible and invisible halves. But then they found that Jews and Christians have no certainty on this subject, that they differ, and that one of them blindly follows the other, although they had done their utmost in the study of the places of the moon, and in the researches regarding her motions (*lit.* expeditions) and stations. 30

Thereupon they had recourse to the astronomers, and composed their *Canons* and books, beginning them with dissertations on the elements of the knowledge of the Arabian months, adding various kinds of com-
35. putations and chronological tables. Now, people, thinking that these calculations were based upon the observation of the new-moons, adopted some of them, attributed their authorships to Ja'far Al-ṣâdiḳ, and believed that they were one of the mysteries of prophecy. However, these calculations are based not upon the apparent, but upon the mean, *i.e.* the corrected, motions of sun and moon, upon a lunar year of 354¼ days, and upon the supposition that six months of the year are complete, six 40
incomplete, and that each complete month is followed by an incomplete one. So we judge from the nature of their *Canons*, and from the books which are intended to establish the bases on which the *Canons* rest.

But, when they tried to fix thereby the beginning and end of fasting, their calculation, in most cases, preceded the legitimate time by one day. Whereupon they set about eliciting curious things from the following word of the Prophet: "Fast, when she (new-moon) appears, and cease fasting when she re-appears." For they asserted, that the words "fast, *when* she appears" (صوموا لرؤيته), mean the fasting of *that* day, in the afternoon of which new-moon becomes visible, as people say, "*prepare yourselves to meet him*" (اعدوا لفلان), in which case the act of preparing precedes that of meeting.

Besides, they assert that the month of Ramaḍân has never less than thirty days. However, astronomers and all those who consider the subject attentively, are well aware that the appearance of new-moon does not proceed regularly according to one and the same rule for several reasons: the motion of the moon varies, being sometimes slower, sometimes faster; she is sometimes near the earth, sometimes far distant; she ascends in north and south, and descends in them; and each single one of these occurrences may take place on every point of the ecliptic. And besides, some sections of the ecliptic sink faster, others slower. All this varies according to the different latitudes of the countries, and according to the difference of the atmosphere. This refers either to different places where the air is either naturally clear or dark, being always mixed up with vapours, and mostly dusty, or it refers to different times, the air being dense at one time, and clear at another. Besides, the power of the sight of the observers varies, some being sharp-sighted, others dim-sighted. And all these circumstances, however different they are, are liable to various kinds of coincidences, which may happen at each beginning of the two months of Ramaḍân and Shawwâl under innumerable forms and varieties. For these reasons the month Ramaḍân is sometimes incomplete, sometimes complete, and all this varies according to the greater or less latitude of the countries, so that, *e.g.* in northern countries the month may be complete, whilst the same month is incomplete in southern countries, and *vice versâ*. Further, also, these differences in the various countries do not follow one and the same rule; on the contrary, one identical circumstance may happen to one month several consecutive times or with interruptions.

But even supposing that the use which they make of those tables and calculations were correct, and their computation agreed with the appearance of new-moon, or preceded it by one day, which they have made a fundamental principle, they would require special computations for each degree of longitude, because the variation in the appearance of new-moon does not depend alone upon the latitudes, but to a great extent also upon the longitudes of the countries. For, frequently, new-moon is not seen in some place, whilst she *is* seen in another place not far to the west; and frequently she is seen in both places at once. This is one of the reasons for which it would be necessary to have special calculations

and tables for every single degree of longitude. Therefore, now, their theory is quite utopian, *viz.* that the month of Ramaḍân should always be complete, and that both its beginning and end should be identical in the whole of the inhabited world, as would follow from that table which they use.

If they contend that from the (above-mentioned) tradition, which is traced back to Muḥammad himself, the obligation of making the beginning and end of fasting precede the appearance of new-moon, follows, we must say that such an interpretation is unfounded. For the particle *Lâm* (لام التوقيت) relates to future time, as they have mentioned, and relates to past time, as you say, *e.g.*:—كتب كذا مضى من الشهر (*"dated from this or that day of the month"*), *i.e.* from that moment when *x* days of the month were past already, in which case the writing does not precede the past part of the month. And this, not the first mentioned, is the meaning of that tradition. Compare with this the following saying of the Prophet: "We are illiterate people, we do not write nor do we reckon the month thus and thus and thus," each time showing his ten fingers, meaning a complete month or thirty days. Then he repeated his words, saying, "and thus and thus and thus," and at the third time he held back one thumb, meaning an incomplete month or twenty-nine days. By this generally known sentence, the Prophet ordained that the month should be one time complete, and incomplete another time, and that this is to be regulated by the appearance of new-moon, not by calculation, as he says, "*we do not write, nor do we reckon (calculate).*"

But if they say that the Prophet meant that each complete month should be followed by an incomplete one, as the chronologists reckon, they are refuted by the plain facts, if they will not disregard them, and their trickery in both small and great things, in all they have committed, is exposed. For the conclusion of the first-mentioned tradition proves the impossibility of their assertion, *viz.* "*Fast when she (new-moon) appears, and cease fasting when she re-appears, but if heaven be clouded so as to prevent your observation, reckon the month Sha'bân as thirty days.*" And in another tradition, the Prophet says, "*If a cloud or black dust should prevent you from observing the new moon, make the number thirty complete.*" For if the appearance of new-moon be known either from their tables and calculations, or from the statements of the authors of the canons, and if the beginning and end of fasting is to precede the appearance of new-moon, it would not be necessary to give full thirty days to the month Sha'bân, or to count the month Ramaḍân as full thirty days, in case the horizon should be covered by a cloud or by dust. And this (*i.e.* to give full thirty days to Ramaḍân) is not possible, except by performing the fasting of the day in the evening of which the new-moon is first seen.

If, further, the month Ramaḍân were always complete, and its beginning were known, people might do without the observation of new-moon for the month Shawwâl. In the same way, the word of the Prophet: "*and cease fasting when she (new-moon) re-appears*," is to be interpreted.

However, party spirit makes clear-seeing eyes blind, and makes sharp-hearing ears deaf, and instigates people to engage in things which no mind is inclined to adopt. But for this reason, such ideas would not p. 67. have entered their heads, if you consider the traditions which occur in the books of the *Shi'a Zaidiyya*,—may God preserve their community!—and which have been corrected by their authorities,—may God bless them!—as for instance, the following: In the time of the Prince of the Believers ('Alî) people had been fasting twenty-eight days in the month of Ramaḍân. Then he ordered them still to perform the fasting of *one* day, which they did. The fact was that both consecutive months, Sha'bân and Ramaḍân, were imperfect, and there had been some obstacle which had prevented them from observing new-moon at the beginning of Ramaḍân; they gave the month the full number of thirty days, and at the end of the month the reality of the case became evident. Then there is the following saying, related to have been pronounced by 'Abû 'Abd-Allâh Alṣâdiḳ: "*The month of Ramaḍân is liable to the same increase and decrease as the other months.*" Also the following is reported of the same: "*If you observe the month Sha'bân without being able to see the new-moon, count thirty and then fast.*" The same 'Abû-'Abd-Allâh Alṣâdiḳ, on being asked regarding the new-moon, said: "*If you see the new moon, fast, and if you see her again, cease fasting.*" All these traditions in the code of the Shî'a refer only to the fasting.

It is astonishing that our masters, the family of the Prophet, listened to such doctrines, and that they adopted them as a uniting link for the minds of the community of the believers who profess to follow them, instead of imitating the example of their ancestor, the Prince of the Believers ('Alî), in his aversion to conciliating the obstinate sinners, when he spoke: "*I did not hold out an arm to those who lead astray*" (*i.e.* I did not lend support to them).

As regards the following saying, ascribed by tradition to Alṣâdiḳ: "When you observe the new-moon of Rajab, count fifty-nine days, and then begin fasting;" and the following saying ascribed to the same: "If you see the new-moon of the month of Ramaḍân at the time when she appears, count 354 days, and then begin fasting in the next following year. For the Lord has created the year as consisting of 360 days. But from these he has excepted six days, in which he created the heavens and the earth; therefore they (these six days) are not comprehended in the number (of the days of the year)"—regarding these traditions we say, that, if they were correct, his (Alṣâdiḳ's) statement on this subject would rest on the supposition, that it (the month Ramaḍân) was really

greater in one place, and did not follow the same rule everywhere, as we have heretofore mentioned. Such a method of accounting for the six days is something so subtle, that it proves the tradition to be false, and renders it void of authenticity.

In a chronicle I have read the following: 'Abû-Ja'far Muḥammad ben Sulaimân, Governor of Kûfa, under the Khalîf Manṣûr, had imprisoned 'Abd-alkarîm ben 'Abî-al'aujâ, who was the uncle of Ma'n ben Zâ'ida, one of the Manichæans. This man, however, had many protectors in Baghdâd, and these urged Manṣûr in his favour, till at last he wrote to Muḥammad ordering him not to put 'Abd-alkarîm to death. Meanwhile, 'Abd-alkarîm was expecting the arrival of the letter in his cause. He said to 'Abû-aljabbâr confidentially: "If the 'Amîr gives me respite for three days, I shall give him 100,000 dirhams." 'Abû-aljahbâr told this to Muḥammad, who replied: "You have reminded me of him, whilst I
p. 88. had forgotten him. Remind me of him when I return from the mosque." Then, when he returned, 'Abû-aljabbâr reminded him of the prisoner, whereupon he (Muḥammad) ordered him to be brought and to be beheaded. And now, knowing for certain that he was to be killed, he said, "By God, now that you are going to kill me, I tell you that I have put down 4,000 traditions (in my books), in which I forbid that which is allowed, and allow that which is forbidden. And verily, I have made you break your fast when you ought to have fasted, and I have made you fast when you ought not to have fasted." Thereupon he was beheaded, and afterwards the letter in his cause arrived.

How thoroughly did this heretic deserve to be the author of this subtle interpretation which they have adopted, and of its original (*i.e.* the text to which the interpretation refers)!

I myself have had a discussion with the originator of this sect, regarding the Musnad-tradition (*i.e.* such a tradition as is carried back by an uninterrupted chain of witnesses to Muḥammad himself). On which occasion I compelled him to admit that consequences, similar to those here mentioned, follow from his theories. But then in the end he declared, that the subject was one that of necessity resulted from the language (*i.e.* from the interpretation of the *Lâm-altauḳît*), and that the language has nothing whatever to do with the law and its corollaries. Thereupon, I answered: "May God have mercy upon you! Have not God and his Prophet addressed us in the language generally known among the Arabs? But the thing is this, that *you* have nothing whatever to do with the Arabic language; and also in the science of the law you are utterly ignorant. Leave the law aside and address yourself to the astronomers. None of them would agree with you regarding your theory of the perpetual completeness of the month of Ramaḍân; none of them thinks that the celestial globe and sun and moon distinguish the moon of Ramaḍân from among the others, so as to move faster or slower just in

this particular month. The luminaries do not mark out this month in particular as do the Muslims, who distinguish it by performing their fasting in it.

However, arguing with people who are obstinate on purpose, and persevere in their obstinacy on account of their ignorance, is not productive of any good, either for the student or for the object of his researches. God speaks (Sûra lii. 44): "If they saw a piece of heaven falling down, they would say, 'It is only a conglomerated cloud.'" And further (Sûra vi. 7): "If we sent down to you a book (written) on paper, and they touched it with their hands, verily the unbelieving would say, 'This is nothing but evident witchcraft.'" God grant that we may always belong to those who follow and further the truth, who crush and expose that which is false and wrong!

Months of the Reformed Calendar of Almu'tadid.—The months of Almu'tadid are the Persian months, with the same names and the same order. But the Persian days are not used in these months, because to the Epagomenæ in every fourth year one day is added by way of intercalation; and so for that reason which we have mentioned, when speaking of the months of the Egyptians, the (Persian) names of the single days have been dropped. The order of intercalation used in these months agrees with that of the Greeks and Syrians.

As to the months of the other nations, Hindus, Chinese, Tibetans, Turks, Khazars, Ethiopians, and Negroes, we do not intend, although we have managed to learn the names of some of them, to mention them here, postponing it till a time when we shall know them all, as it does not agree with the method which we have followed hitherto, to connect that which is doubtful and unknown with that which is certain and known.

We have collected in the following table the names of the months which have been mentioned in the preceding part of this book, in order to facilitate the study of the various kinds of them. God leads to the truth!

TABLE OF THE MONTHS.

The beginning of their months is the second Nauróz.		The beginning of their months is the first Nauróz.		Beginning of the months is the appearance of New-Moon about the Vernal Equinox.	Their beginning is the appearance of New-Moon. Their number begins with Daimur which corresponds with Ramaḍân.	The beginning of the months is the appearance of New-Moon which is observed (not calculated).			
Khwârizmians.	Sughdians.	The ancient inhabitants of Sijistân.	Persians.	Jews.	Thamûd.	Paçan Arabs.	Muslim Arabs.	The inhabitants of بخارى	The inhabitants of Kubâ.
فاوسارجى	نوسرد	كواد	Farwardîn-Mâh	Tishrî	Mûjib	Almu'tamir	Almuḥarram	نوسرد	حلو
اردوست	جرجن	رهو	Ardîbahisht-Mâh	Marḥeshwân	Mûjir	Nâjir	Ṣafar	قدى نوسرد	اوين
هرودار	نيسنج	اوسال	Khurdâdh-Mâh	Kislêw	Mûrid	Khawwân	Rabî' the first.	سافول	حمش
جيرى	فساكنج	تيركيانوا	Tîr-Mâh	Ṭebeth	Mulzim	Buṣṣân	Rabî' the last.	ساخت	لوليا
همدار	اهناهنداذا	سريزوا	Murdâdh-Mâh	Shebâṭ	Musdir	Ḥantam	Jumâdâ the first.	اوريس	نو
اخشرورى	مرخندا	مريزوا	Shahrêwar-Mâh	Adhâr	Haubar	Zabbâ	Jumâdâ the last.	يسن	نر
اومرى	نفكان	مرور	Mihr-Mâh	Nîsân	Hauhal	Al'aṣamm	Rajab.	حسك	صهر
تاناخن	ابانج	هرانوا	Âbân-Mâh	Iyâr	Mauhâ	'Âdil	Sha'bân	جدل	الما
اورى	نوخ	اركيازوا	Âdhar-Mâh	Sîwân	Daimur	Nâfiḳ	Ramaḍân	هيات	نوا
ريمرد	مسانوغ	كريشت	Dai-Mâh	Tammûz	Dâbir	Waghl	Shawwâl	مسون	معاة
اخمن	زيمدنج	كرسن	Bahmen-Mâh	Âbh	Ḥaiḳal	Huwâ'	Dhû-alḳa'da	عجسند	دن
اسپندارمجى	خشوم	ساروا	Isfandârmadh-Mâh	'Elûl	Musbil	Burak	Dhû-alḥijja	دريمكان	اوناك

I have not been able to learn how long these months are, nor what they mean, nor of what kind they are.	The beginning of these months is the conjunction taking place about the vernal equinox.	The beginning of the leap-year is the 29th of Âb, the beginning of the simple year is the 1st of Dai-Mûh.		The beginning of these months is the first day of the Syrian month Kânûn the last.		The beginning of these months is an assumed day which is not in relation to anything else.	
Turks.	Hindus.	People of the West.	Copts.	Ancient Greeks.	Greeks (*Ρωμαῖοι*).	Syrians.	Turks.
Ulugh Ây	بیشاك	May	Thôth	Audynæus	Yanuarius	Teshrîn the first	Sijkan
Kücük Ây	زیشت	June	Phaôphî	Peritius	Februarius	Teshrîn the last	Od
Birinj Ây	الساد	July	Athyr	Dystrus	Martius	Kânûn the first	Pârs
Ikinj Ây	سراوان	August	Choiak	Xanticus	Maius	Kânûn the last	Tafshikhan
Altünj Ay	بهدرید	September	Tybi	Artemisius	Aprilius	Shebâṭ	Lû
Beshinj Ây	اسوج	October	Methîr	Daïsius	Yunius	Âdhâr	Yylan
Sekizinj Ây	کارث	November	Phamenôth	Panemus	Yulius	Nisân	Yont
Tokuzunj Ây	منکس	December	Pharmûthî	Lôus	Augustus	Iyâr	Kuy
Onunj Ây	بوش	January	Pachôn	Gorpiæus	Septembrius	Ḥazîrân	Pîçîn
Türtünj Ây	صاك	February	Payni	Hyperberetæus.	Octombrius	Tammûz	Taghuk
Udünj Ây	با کر	March	Epiphi	Dius	Novembrius	Âbh	It
Tetinj Ây	جیتر	April	Mesori	Apellæus	Decembrius	Îlûl	Tunguz

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CHAPTER VI.

ON THE DERIVATION OF THE ERAS FROM EACH OTHER, AND ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATES, RELATING TO THE COMMENCEMENTS AND THE DURATIONS OF THE REIGNS OF THE KINGS, ACCORDING TO THE VARIOUS TRADITIONS.

It is the special object at which I aim in this book, to fix the durations (of the reigns of the kings) by the most correct and perspicuous method. But, now, wishing to explain the derivation of the eras from each other in conformity with the usual mode of the *canons*, which specify the various kinds of calculation and of derivation (*e.g.* stating one era in the terms of another), and which contain rules and paradigms, I find this subject to be a very wide one, and the wish to embrace this whole science compels me to cause trouble both to myself and to the reader.

Agreeably to the method which I have adhered to from the beginning of this book, I shall explain the intervals between the epochs of the usual eras by a measure which is counted in the same way by all nations, *i.e.* by days; for, as we have already mentioned, both years and months are differently measured. Everything else is generally mentioned in years, but for the knowledge of the intervals between the epochs of the eras the statement in *days* is quite sufficient, since it has been impossible to obtain a knowledge of the real quality of the years of the various eras, and there has been but little need for the use of them.

Now, if we in some places wander about through various branches of science, and plunge into subjects which are not very closely connected with the order of our discussion, we must say that we do not do this because we seek to be lengthy and verbose, but as guided by the desire of preventing the reader from getting tired. For if the mind is continually occupied with the study of one single science, it gets easily tired and impatient; but if the mind wanders from one science to another, it is as if it were wandering about in gardens, where, when it is roving over one, another one already presents itself; in consequence of which, the mind has a longing for them, and enjoys the sight of them; as people say, "Everything that is new offers enjoyment."

Now let us begin with the traditions of those to whom a divine book was sent (Jews and Christians) regarding Adam, his children and their descendants. All this we shall fix in tables, in order to facilitate the pronunciation of their names, and the study of the different traditions regarding them. On this subject we combine the traditions of the Jews and Christians, placing them opposite to each other (in the same table). We commence by the help of God, under his guidance, and with his gracious support. p. 73.

The Names of the Descendants of Adam, who form the Chronological Chain of the Era, and the Chronological Differences between Christians and Jews regarding them.	How old they were when a son was born to them—according to the Christians.	The sum of the years of the era, according to the Christians.	How old they were when a son was born to them—according to the Jews.	How long each of them lived after a son had been born to him—according to the Jews.	How long altogether each of them lived—according to the Jews.	The sum of the years of the era—according to the Jews.
I.—Adam the father of mankind—till the birth of his son Seth	230	230	130	800	930	130
Seth ben Adam—till the birth of his son Enos	205	435	105	807	912	235
Enos ben Seth—till the birth of his son Cainan	190	625	90	815	905	325
Cainan ben Enos—till the birth of his son Mahalaleel	170	795	70	840	910	395
V.—Mahalaleel ben Cainan—till the birth of his son Jared	165	960	65	830	895	460
Jared ben Mahalaleel—till the birth of his son Enoch	162	1122	162	800	962	622
Enoch ben Jared—till the birth of his son Methuselah	165	1287	65	300	365	687
Methuselah ben Enoch—till the birth of his son Lamech	167	1454	187	782	969	874
Lamech ben Methuselah—till the birth of his son Noah	188	1642	182	595	777	1056
X.—Noah ben Lamech—till the birth of his son Shem	500	2142	500	450	950	1556
Shem ben Noah—till the Deluge	100	2242	100	500	600	1656
From the Deluge till the birth of Arphaxad ben Shem	2	2244	2	0	0	1658
Arphaxad ben Shem—till the birth of his son Salah	135	2379	35	463	498	1693
Salah ben Arphaxad—till the birth of his son Eber	130	2509	30	460	490	1723
XV.—Eber ben Salah—till the birth of his son Peleg	134	2643	34	396	430	1757
Peleg ben Eber—till the birth of his son Reu	130	2773	30	179	209	1787
Reu ben Peleg—till the birth of his son Serug	132	2905	32	175	207	1819
Serug ben Reu—till the birth of his son Nahor	130	3035	30	170	200	1849
Nahor ben Serug—till the birth of his son Terah	79	3114	29	119	148	1878
XX.—Terah ben Nahor till the birth of his son Abraham	75	3189	70	135	205	1948

p. 74. Now, he who studies the numbers of years of this table, till the birth of Abraham, will become aware of the difference between the two systems (that of the Christians and that of the Jews).

The Jewish copy of the Thora, although stating the duration of the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, and Moses, does not specify how old they were when a son was born to each of them, nor how long they lived after that; except in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For it is stated that Isaac was born unto Abraham when he was 100 years of age, and that he afterwards lived 75 years more; that Jacob was born unto Isaac when he was 60 years of age; that Jacob entered Egypt together with his sons, when he was 130 years of age, and that he after that lived 17 years more.

Now, the Israelites stayed in Egypt 210 years, according to the statement of the Jews, that between the birth of Abraham and that of Moses there was an interval of 420 years, and that Moses was 80 years of age, when he led the Israelites out of Egypt. From the second book of the Thora, however, we learn that the entire length of the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt was 430 years. If, now, the Jews are asked to account for this difference, they maintain that that space of time is to be counted from the day when God made the treaty with Abraham, and promised him to make him the father of many nations, and to give to his descendants the country of Canaan as an inheritance. But we leave the matter to God, who knows best what they mean.

The chronological differences regarding the later periods of Biblical history, arising out of the three different copies of the Thora, are of the same kind as we have already explained.

How little care the Jews bestow upon their chronology is shown to evidence, by the fact, that they, all of them, believe in the first instance, that between their exodus from Egypt and Alexander there is an interval of 1,000 years, corrected (*i.e.* made to agree with the sun or real time) by intercalation, and that they rely on this number in their computation of the qualities of the years (whether they be perfect or imperfect or intermediate). But if we gather from their books which follow after the Thora, the years of every one of their rulers after Moses, the son of Amram, and add them together, we get a sum which already at the building of Jerusalem goes beyond the millennium by such a space of time as cannot be tolerated in chronological computations. If this sum were too small (less than a millennium), the difference might be accounted for by assuming that an interval between two persons might have been omitted. But a surplus in this case does not admit of any interpretation whatsoever.

Being unable to give a satisfactory answer to such a question, some of them assert that the accurate specification of these years was found in the records of the family of Juda, and that these records are no longer at their disposal, but have been carried off to the countries of the

Greeks. For after the death of Solomon, the Israelites were split into two parties. The tribes of Juda and Benjamin elected as their king the son of Solomon, whilst the ten tribes elected as their king Jeroboam, the client of Rehohoam, the son of Solomon. And thereupon he led them astray (to idolatry), as we shall mention hereafter in the chapter on the Jewish festivals. His children reigned after him, and both parties made war upon each other.

The following is a synopsis of the years of their rulers, who ruled over them after their exodus from Egypt, when they marched towards
10 *Baḥr-al-ḳulzum* (the Red Sea) in order to pass it, and to march to *Allîh*, a p. 75.
desert in Alḥijâz, in the direction of Jerusalem; all of which rests on the authority of their chronicles. But they have another book which they call *Séder-'ôlâm* (סדר עולם), *i.e.* the years of the world, which contains a less sum of years than that of *the books which follow after the Thora*, whilst in some respects it comes near to their original system. The statements of both these kinds of their historical records we have collected in the following synopsis.

The Names of the Rulers, Governors, Priests, and Judges of the Israelites till the Foundation of the Temple, which is a space of 480 years.	How long each of them ruled, according to the Biblical chronicle.	The sum of the years.	How long each of them ruled, according to Séder-'Ôlâm.	The sum of the years.	
The Israelites left Egypt and dwelt in the desert till the death of Moses	40	40	40	40	
Yehôshû'a ben Nûn, the successor of Moses	27	67	27	67	10
'Othnî'êl ben Ḳenaz	40	107	40	107	
'Eglôn the king of Mô'âb and the Amalekites of the Banî-'Ammôn	18	125	—	—	
'Êhûd ben Gêrâ, the left-handed, of the Ephraimites	80	205	80	187	
Shamgar ben 'Anâth	20	225	—	—	
Debôrâ the prophetess and her lieutenant Bârâḳ	40	265	40	227	
The Midianites, the oppressors	7	272	7	234	
Gid'ôn ben 'Ofrâ, of the tribe of Manasseh	40	312	43	277	20
'Abîmêlekh ben Gid'ôn	3	315			
Tôlâ' ben Pû'â, of the tribe of Ephraim	23	338			
Yâ'îr from Gil'âd, of the tribe of Manasseh	22	360	44	321	
The sons of 'Ammôn the Philistine, *i.e.* the people of Palestine	18	378	18	339	
Yiftaḥ from Gil'âd	6	384	6	345	
'Ibṣân, also called Naḥshôn, from Bethlehem	7	391	7	352	
'Êlôn	10	401	10	362	30
'Abdôn ben Hillêl	8	409	8	370	
The Philistines	40	449	—	—	
Shimshôn the giant of the tribe of Dân	20	469	20	390	
The people without a ruler	10	479	—	—	
'Êlî the priest	40	519	40	430	
The ark in the hands of the enemies, until Samuel was sent	10	529	10	440	
Samuel, till they asked him to give them a king, whereupon he made Ṭâlût their king	20	549	—	—	40
Saul, *i.e.* Ṭâlût	20	569	20	4421	
David; he commenced building the Temple in the 11th year of his reign	40	609	40	482	
Solomon ben David—till he finished the Temple	3	612	3	485	

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The Names of the Kings and other Rulers of the Israelites from the Foundation of the Temple till its first Destruction, which is a space of 410 years,	How long each of them ruled, according to the Biblical chronicle.	The sum of the years.	How long each of them ruled, according to Sêder 'Olâm.	The sum of the years.
Solomon ben David—after the Temple was finished	37	649	37	522
Reḥab'âm ben Solomon	17	666	17	539
'Abiyyâ ben Reḥab'âm	3	669	2	541
'Âsâ ben 'Abiyyâ	41	710	41	582
Yehôshâfâṭ ben 'Âsâ	25	735	23	605
Yehôrâm ben Yehôshâfâṭ	8	743	6	611
'Aḥazyâ ben Yehôrâm	1	744	11	622
'Athalyâ—till she was killed by Yô'âsh	6	750	6	628
Yô'âsh ben 'Aḥazyâ—till he was killed by his people	40	790	40	668
'Amazyâ ben Yô'âsh—till he was killed	29	819	29	697
'Uzziyâ ben 'Amazyâ—till he died	52	871	52	749
Yôthâm ben 'Uzziyyâ—till he died	16	887	16	765
'Âḥâz ben Yôthâm—till he died	16	903	16	773 !
Ḥizkiyyâ ben 'Âḥâz, the king of all the tribes	29	932	29	802
Menashshê ben Ḥizkiyyâ	55	987	55	857
'Ammôn ben Menashshê	2	989	2	859
Yôshiyyâ ben 'Ammôn—till he was killed by the king of Egypt	31	1020	31	890
Yehô'âḥâz ben Yô'shiyyâ—till he was made a prisoner by the king of Egypt	3	1023	—	—
Yehôyâḳîm ben Yehô'âḥâz, set up by the king of Egypt	10	1033	11	901
Yehôyâkhîn ben Yehôyâḳîm, till he was made a prisoner by Nebucadnezar	3	1036	—	—
Ṣidḳiyyâ—till he rebelled against Nebucadnezar, when he was killed and the Temple destroyed	6	1042	11	912
The Temple remained in ruins	70	1112	70	982
But according to another view between the time when they were led into captivity and Daniel there was an interval of	90	1202	90	1052 !
From Daniel till the birth of the Messiah	483	1685	483	1535
From the birth of the Messiah till the epoch of the flight of Muḥammad	600	2285	600	2135

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It cannot be thought strange that you should find similar discrepancies with people who have several times suffered so much from captivity and war as the Jews. It is quite natural that they were distracted by other matters from preserving their historical traditions, more particularly at times of such distress, "when each woman who suckled a child forgot her child, and each pregnant woman gave birth to the burthen of her womb." (Sûra xxii. 2.)

Besides, the governorships and headships were not always held by one and the same tribe, but came to be divided (among several tribes) after the death of Solomon the son of David; then one part of them was held by the tribes of Juda and Benjamin, another part by the other tribes of the Israelites.

Further, their rule was not organized so well; nor their empire and government handed over from one to the other in such good order as to render it necessary for them both to preserve the dates when each of their rulers ascended the throne, and to record the duration of his reign, except by a rough method of computation. For some people maintain that, after the death of Joshua, Kûshân, the King of Mesopotamia, of the family of Lot, overpowered them, and held them under his sway during eight years; that then Othniel rose. And some people attribute to his rule more years, others less.

Frequently, one author thinks that some ruler reigned over them so-and-so many years, whilst another assigns to his rule a less number of years, and maintains that the former number represents the duration of his whole life (not that of his rule); or a third possibility is this, that by adding the two spaces of time, mentioned by the two authors, you get a common space of time for two rulers, during which they ruled simultaneously.

The chronological system of the Sêder-'ôlâm, although coming near to the sum (assumed by the generality of the Jews), differs considerably from the statements in detail; this applies specially to the time of the first building of the Temple, not to mention the uncertainty which hangs over those points of their history which we have spoken of before.

The length of the Human Life.—Some one among the inexperienced and foolish people of the *Hashwiyya* and *Dahriyya* sects, have rejected as incredible the long duration of life which has been ascribed to certain tribes in the past, specially to the patriarchs before the time of Abraham. Likewise they consider as monstrous what has been related of the huge size of their bodies. They maintain that all this lies altogether beyond the limit of possibility, drawing their conclusions from objects which they are able to observe in their own age. They have adopted the doctrine of astrologers, regarding the greatest possible gift (of years of life) which the stars are supposed to bestow upon mankind in the
p. 79. nativities, if the following constellation occurs: The sun must be at such a nativity both *mater familias* and *pater familias*, *i.e.* he must stand

in his *domus* (οἶκος), or in his *altitudo* (ὕψωμα), in a *cardo*, and in a *concordant* masculine quarter. In that case he bestows his *greatest years*, *i.e.* 120 years, to which the

Moon	-	adds 25 years.
Venus	-	„ 8 „
Jupiter	-	„ 12 „

These are the *smallest years* of each of these three stars, for they are not able to add a greater number of years, if they have a *concordant aspect* (in relation to the horoscope). Further, the two unlucky among the stars (Saturn and Mars) must have no *aspect* to the horoscope, so as not to exercise any diminishing influence. The *Caput Draconis* must stand with the sun in the same sign of the ecliptic, but still sufficiently far from him, so as not to stand within the ὅροι ἐκλειπτικοὶ.

If this constellation occurs, it increases the gift (of years of life) of the sun by one fourth, *i.e.* 30 years. So the whole sum of years makes 215 years, which they maintain to be the longest duration of life which mortal man may reach, if it is not cut short by any accident. The natural duration of life is to be 120 years, because the existence of the world depends upon the sun; and this number of years represents the *greatest years* of the sun.

Those people have settled this question as it best pleases them. And if reality followed their desire, heaven and earth would be greatly the worse for it. They have built their theory on a basis, the contrary of which is approved of by astronomers, in so far as they ascribe "greatest years" to these planets. They say in their books that these planets used to bestow their "greatest years" in the *millennia* of the *fiery signs* of the zodiac, when in them the rule was exercised by the superior planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars), and when the years of the sun and of Venus were made to exceed by far the longest duration of life ascribed to any one of the patriarchs.

This man is their master in chronology; they trust in his word, and do not oppose his audacity. He actually maintains that man may live during the years of a "*middle conjunction*" (of Saturn and Jupiter), when the nativity coincides with the *transitus* of the conjunction from one *trigon* to another, whilst the *ascendens* is one of the two *houses* of either Saturn or Jupiter, when the sun is *mater familias* in day-time, and the moon at night, exercises the greatest power; that the same is possible, if this same constellation occurs at the transitus of the conjunction to Aries and its *trigons*.

And the argument for the assertion, that the new-born human being may live during the years of the "greatest conjunction," *i.e.* about 960 years, until the conjunction returns to its original place, is of the same description.

He has explained and propounded this subject in the beginning of his book, "*De Nativitatibus.*"

Their now, is their belief in the gifts (of years of life) of the stars.

Regarding these years, which the single planets are supposed to bestow upon mankind, we have had a discussion with the astronomers who use them, in the *Kitâb altanbîh 'alá sinâ'at altanwîh* (*i.e.* the book in which the swindling profession is exposed), and we have given a direction how to use the best method in all questions where these years occur in the book entitled, *Kitâb alshumûs alshâfiya lilnufûs.*

Now, personal observation alone, and conclusions inferred therefrom, do not prove a long duration of the human life, and the huge size of human bodies, and what else has been related to be beyond the limits of possibility. For similar matters appear in the course of time in manifold shapes. There are certain things which are bound to certain times, within which they turn round in a certain order, and which undergo transformations as long as there is a possibility of their existing. If they, now, are not observed as long as they *are* in existence, people think them to be improbable, and hasten to reject them as altogether
80. impossible.

This applies to all cyclical occurrences, such as the mutual impregnation of animals and trees, and the forthcoming of the seeds and their fruits. For, if it were possible that men did not know these occurrences, and then were led to a tree, stripped of its leaves, and were told what occurs to the tree of getting green, of producing blossoms and fruits, etc., they would certainly think it improbable, till they saw it with their own eyes. It is for the same reason that people, who come from northern countries, are filled with admiration when they see palm-trees, olive-trees, and myrtle-trees, and others standing in full-bloom at winter-time, since they never saw anything like it in their own country.

Further, there are other things occurring at times in which no cyclical order is apparent, and which seem to happen at random. If, then, the time in which the thing occurred has gone by, nothing remains of it except the report about it. And if you find in such a report all the conditions of authenticity, and if the thing might have already occurred before that time, you must accept it, though you have no idea of the nature nor of the cause of the matter in question.

Irregular Formations of Nature.—There are still other things which occur in like manner, but which are called "*faults of nature*" (*lusus naturæ*), on account of their transgressing that order which is characteristic of their species. I, however, do not call them "*faults of nature*," but rather a superfluity of material beyond the due proportions of the measure of everything. To this category belong, *e.g.* animals with supernumerary limbs, which occur sometimes, when nature, whose task it is to preserve the species as they are, finds some superfluous substance, which she forms into some shape instead of throwing it away;

likewise animals with imperfect limbs, when nature does not find the substance by which to complete the form of that animal in conformity with the structure of the species to which it belongs; in that case she forms the animal in such a shape, as that the defect is made to lose its obnoxious character, and she gives it vital power as much as possible.

This is illustrated by an example, which Thâbit ben Sinân ben Thâbit ben Ḳurra relates in his chronicle, *viz.* that he had seen near Surramanra'â an Indian chicken that had come out of the egg without a defect, and of complete structure; but its head had two beaks and three eyes. The same author reports, that to Tûzûn, in the days of his reign, people brought a dead kid with the round face, the jaws and teeth like those of man; but it had only one eye, and something like a tail on its forehead. Further, he relates that in the district Alnukharrim, of Baghdâd, there was born a child, which died instantly; it was brought before Ghurûr-aldaula Bakhtiyâr at the time when his father Mu'izz-aldaula was still alive, and he examined it. It was one complete body without a defect, and without an addition, except that two protuberances rose from it, and upon these there were two complete heads, with complete lineaments, with eyes, ears, two nostrils, and two mouths; between the loins were genitals like those of a woman, out of which the orifice of the penis of a man was apparent.

Another report of his says, that one of the nobles of the Greeks sent to Nâṣir-aldaula, in the winter of A.H. 352, two men grown together by the stomach; they were Aramæans, and twenty-five years of age. He says, they were called *Multaḥiyâni* (*i.e.* two bearded men). They were accompanied by their father. They turned their faces towards each other, but the skin, which formed the common connecting link between them, was long, and besides susceptible of extending so far as to permit the one to rise from the side of the other. People describe them as having, each of them, separate and complete organs of generation; that they did their eating and drinking, and the *coeneratio alvi* at different times; that they used to ride on *one* animal, the one closely behind the other, but so as to turn their faces towards each other; that the one had an inclination for women, the other for boys. p. 81.

There is no doubt that the *Vis Naturalis* (the creative power of nature), in all work it is inspired and commissioned to carry out, never drops any material unused, if it meets with such; and if there is abundance of material, the *Vis Naturalis* redoubles its creating work. Such a double-creation sometimes proceeds in this way, that one being comes into existence in close proximity to another, being at the same time something separate by itself, as, *e.g.* in the case of twins; sometimes a being comes into existence tied up to another being, as, *e.g.* in the case of the two Aramæans; at other times, again, a being comes into existence inserted into and mixed up with another one, as in that case which we mentioned before speaking of the two Aramæans.

The various kinds of double-creations of this and other descriptions are also found among the other animals (besides man). There are, *e.g.* said to be certain species of sea-fishes that are double ones. I mean to say, if you open such a fish, you find a similar one inside.

Frequently, too, the reduplication of formation may pass into a multiplication. All of which is also found among the plants. Look, for instance, at the double-fruits that are grown together, at the fruits with double kernels, which are included in one shell. An example of such a double-formation, of which the one thing is inserted into the other, is an orange, in the interior of which you find another orange of the same kind.

Frequently the *Vis Naturalis* has not succeeded in finishing the double-creation, and producing a complete whole. In which case, she increases the number of limbs, either in their proper places, as *e.g.* supernumerary fingers—for although they are more than usual and than is necessary, still they are found in that place which is appropriated to fingers,—or not in their proper places. And in this case it would be correct to call such a formation an *Error of Nature*. An instance of this is the cow that was in Jurjân at the time of the Ṣâḥib, and when the family of Buwaihi held the country under their sway. Everybody, both young and old, had seen it, and they related to me that it had on the bunch close to the neck a foreleg like its other two forelegs, quite complete, with its shoulder, its joints, and hoof; and that she moved it about as she liked, contracting and extending it.

This case may justly be considered an error (of nature), because that supernumerary limb was quite useless, and because it had neither its proper place nor direction.

Now, all these and similar classes (of uncommon creations), on which I have composed special books, would not be admitted as possible by anyone who did not witness them, because he would not find in them the conditions of authenticity.

Length of the Human Life.—The length of human life is taught by experience to be regulated by a genealogical ratio. For instance, with the Ḥimyarites and others, long life is a peculiarity. Besides long life occurs in one place to the exclusion of others, *e.g.* in Farghâna and Yamâma. For well-informed people relate that in those countries some people grow older than anywhere else. And in this respect they are still surpassed by the Arabians and Indians.

Of this same 'Abû-Ma'shar Albalkhî, the following story is related by 'Abû-Sa'îd Shâdhân in his *Kitâb-almudhâkara-bil'asrâr* (*i.e.* the book in which he brings mysterious subjects before the mind of the reader):—

p. 82. The nativity of a son of the King of Serendîb (Ceylon) was sent to him. His *Ascendens* was Gemini ♊, whilst Saturn stood in Cancer ♋, and the Sun in Capricorn ♑. Now, 'Abû-Ma'shar gave his judgment that he would live during the middle cycle of Saturn. Thereupon, I said to

him, "God forbid! The οἰκοδεσποτής moves backward in the crisis of *retrograde motion* in a *domus cadens* of the *cardines*, so as not to give more than its small cycle. You must subtract fifty years therefrom on account of the retrograde motion."

'Abû-Ma'shar: "Those people are the inhabitants of a κλίμα, of whom one knows beforehand that they live very long, so that they frequently live on in a decrepit state, whilst Saturn is their *companion*. I have been told that, if a man dies before reaching the middle cycle of Saturn, people wonder that he has died so soon. If, therefore, Saturn occupies the dignity of οἰκοδεσποτής in a κλίμα of his own, he does not, in most cases, give less than his great and middle cycles, except he be *in cadente domo*."

I: "But, surely he is *in cadente domo*."

'Abû-Ma'shar: "Quite so! He (Saturn) is *falling* out of the figure of the *Aspectus*, but he is not falling out of the *Directio*."

(Here is a lacuna.)

The mysteries of the second are numerous. It is likewise in a well beneath the earth. In this circumstance there is curious matter for astonishment. Now, in this place, they have admitted that in one κλίμα people live longer than in another.

In another place he ('Abû-Sa'îd Shâdhân) relates of the same 'Abû-Ma'shar, that he was in his company when he was asked by 'Abû-'Iṣma, the Wazîr of Ṣaffâr, regarding something in the signs of his nativity, which he ('Abû-'Iṣma) was alarmed about.

'Abû-Ma'shar: "Do you know of what age your father died?"

'Abû-'Iṣma: "Yes."

'Abû-Ma'shar: "Have you already reached the same age?"

'Abû-'Iṣma: "I have passed it already."

'Abû-Ma'shar: "Do you know at what age your mother died?"

'Abû-'Iṣma: "Yes. That age, too, I have passed already."

'Abû-Ma'shar: "Do you know how long your paternal grandfather lived?"

'Abû-'Iṣma: "Yes. But that I have not yet reached."

'Abû-Ma'shar: "Then consider whether that difference, which is indicated by your nativity, agrees with the life of your grandfather?"

'Abû-'Iṣma: "Yes, it does agree."

'Abû-Ma'shar: "In that case you are right to be alarmed." Then he proceeded to explain: "Nature is most powerful. For in any mishap that befals a man when he is as old as his father or mother or his paternal grandfather were at the time of their death, he is certain to perish, except there be strong evidence (to the contrary). This is clear, too, in plants and seeds. For there are certain species of them which are known to exist very long, whilst others soon meet with mishaps and exist only a short time."

Now, 'Abû-Ma'shar again admits in this place that the duration of life is regulated by a genealogical ratio. Therefore, that astrological theory, to which they cling, is devoid of sense, since they admit such a genealogical ratio as not impossible. On the contrary, it is necessary, as we have already mentioned.

If this sect will reject everything that does not occur in their time or place, so as to fall under their personal observation, if they do not themselves find this everlasting scepticism of theirs absurd, if they will not admit anything that has happened in their absence, we can only say that extraordinary occurrences do not happen at all times; and if they, indeed, happen in some one age, they have in the course of time and the passing of generations no other tie which connects them with posterity except the uninterrupted chain of tradition. Nay, if they would draw the last conclusions from their theory, they would be mere sophists, and would be compelled to disbelieve anybody who would tell them that there are still other countries in the world besides those in which they are living; and other absurdities of a similar kind would follow.

If you would listen to them on the subjects which they propound, you
p. 83. would find that they refer to the traditions of the Indians, and rely on various sorts of tricks which they attribute to them. By way of argument they always mention an Indian idol, cut out of stone, the neck of which is surrounded by numerous iron collars, which represent the Indian eras of 10,000 years, and, if counted, would amount to an enormous sum of years. But if you then tell them what they, *i.e.* the Indians, maintain, *viz.* that the King of Jamâlâbadhra, that town whence the *Myrobalana*, the *Phyllanthus emblica*, and the *Myrobalana bellerica* are exported, even at the age of 250 years, rode and hunted and married, and behaved altogether like a young man, and that all this was the consequence of a dietetic treatment, they will reject it, and declare that the Indians are evident liars, not really learned men, because they base their sciences upon inspiration, and that therefore their doctrines are not trustworthy. Besides, they will begin to speak of the subtlety of all the tenets of the Indians in all questions of law and religion, of reward and punishment (eschatology), and they will dwell on the various sorts of torture which they practise in castigating their own bodies.

It is this sect whom God means in the verse of the Koran (Sûra x. 40): "Nay, they have declared to be a lie something, the science of which they did not comprehend"; and in the other verse (Sûra xlvi. 10): "And as they would not be guided thereby, verily, they will say: That is an old lie." They admit only that which suits them, although it be feeble, and they avoid everything that differs from their dogma, although it be true.

I have read a book of 'Abû-'Abdallâh Alhusain ben 'Ibrâhîm Alṭabarî Alnâṭilî, a treatise on the duration of natural life, where he maintains that its greatest length is 140 solar years, beyond which no increase is

possible. He, however, who denies this so categorically, is required to produce a proof, which the mind is obliged to accept, and in which it acquiesces. But he has not established the least proof for his assertion, except that in his premises he lays down the following theory :—

Three *Status Perfectionis* are peculiar to man—

I. His attaining to manhood (or womanhood), the time when he becomes able to propagate his own race. That is the beginning of the second *Seventh*.

II. When his thinking power ripens, and his intellect proceeds from δύναμις to ποίησις. That is the beginning of the sixth *Seventh*.

III. When he becomes able to govern himself, if he be unmarried; his family affairs, if he be married; his public affairs, if he exercise some public authority.

The sum of these three *Status Perfectionis* is to be 140 years.

We do not see by what proportion 'Abû-'Abdallâh has calculated these numbers. For there is no proportion nor progression apparent among them. Verily, if we conceded to him that there are three such *Status Perfectionis*, if we then counted them in the way he has done, and declared finally, pre-supposing we did not apprehend being required to establish a proof, that the sum of these *Status* is 100 or 1,000 or something like it, his method and ours would be quite the same. However, there is this difference, that *we* find, that in our time man attains those phases of development, which he represents as the characteristic signs of the *Status Perfectionis*, in quite other *Sevenths* and times than those which he mentions. God knows best his meaning!

As regards the (superhuman) size of the bodies (of former generations), we say, if it be not necessary to believe it for this reason, that we cannot observe it in our time, and that there is an enormous interval between us and that time, of which such things are related, it is therefore by no means impossible. It is the same, the like of which is related in the Thora of the bodies of the giants (Nephîlîm, Rephâ'îm, 'Enâḳîm), p. 84. and the belief in this has not been abandoned since the time when the Israelites saw them with their own eyes. Therefore everybody may attack and ridicule this subject, if he likes! If the Thora was read to them, and they read it themselves, though up to that moment they had not declared the readers of the Thora to be liars, yet even if the giants were something quite different from what they are described to be (*i.e.* less extraordinary), they would declare the reader of the Thora to be a liar, in case he related anything that is not borne out by their experience and observation. If, indeed, there had never been classes of men with bodies of an extraordinary vastness, God having given them an uncommon size (*vide* Koran, ii. 24), no recollection of them would have remained in the uninterrupted chain of human tradition, and people would not compare with them everybody who, in size exceeds their genus, as it is

known to us. For instance, the people of 'Âd have become proverbial in this sense. But how can I expect them to believe us regarding the people of 'Âd, since they reject even that which is much nearer to our time and much more apparent? They produce such arguments as do not counterbalance the very weakest of these arguments which are urged against them. They shun accepting the striking arguments, flying before them like fugitive asses that fly before a lion (Koran, lxxiv. 51). What would they say of the monuments of larger races of men which exist still at the present time, such as the houses which were cut into the solid rocks in the mountains of Midian, of the graves built in the rocks, and of bones buried in their interior, which are as large as camel-bones and even larger, of the bad smell of those localities, which is so strong that you cannot enter there without covering the nose with something? And it is the common consent of all who inhabit those places that they (the authors of those monuments) are "*the people of darkness.*" But, when they hear of "*the day of darkness,*" they only laugh in a mocking way, make grimaces in haughty disdain, turn up their noses in joy over their theories, and in the persuasion that they are infinitely superior to, and altogether distinguished from all common people. But God is sufficient for them; they will get the reward of their doings, and we that of ours!

Chronological Tables.—In some book I have found tables illustrative of the durations of the reigns of the kings of the Assyrians, *i.e.* the people of Moṣul, of the kings of the Copts, who reigned in Egypt, and of the Ptolemæan princes, each of whom was called Ptolemæus. For Alexander, when dying, ordered that every king of the Greeks after him should be called Ptolemæus, in order to frighten the enemies, because the word means "*the warlike.*" In the same book I have found the chronology of the later kings of the Greeks.

In this book, the interval between the birth of Abraham and Alexander was reckoned as 2,096 years, which is more than Jews, Christians, and astrologers (those who apply the conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter to history) reckon.

Now I have transferred those identical tables into this place of my book. Time has not enabled me to correct the names of the kings on the basis of their true pronunciation. I hope, therefore, that everyone will endeavour to correct and amend them, who like myself wishes to facilitate the subject for the student, and to free him from fatigue of research. And nobody ought to transcribe these tables and the other ones except him who is well acquainted with the *Hurûf-al-jummal*, and honestly endeavours to preserve them correct. For they are corrupted by the tradition of the copyists, when they pass from hand to hand among them. Their emendation is a work of many years.

	Names of the Kings of the Assyrians, i.e. the people of Mosul. They are 37 in number, and they reigned during 1305 years.	How long each of them reigned.	The sum of the years.	
	I. Bêlos	62	62	p. 85.
	Ninos. He built Ninive in Mosul. Abraham was born in the [43rd year] of his reign	52	114	
10	Semiramis the wife of Ninos. She founded the ancient Sûmarrâ west of *Surra-man-ra'â*	42	156	
	Zamês the son of Ninos. Abraham was tried by him, and fled therefore to Palestine in the [23rd year] of his reign	38	194	
	V. Areios	30	224	
	Aralios	40	264	
	Xerxes	30	294	
	Armamithrês	38	332	
	Bêlôchos	35	367	
20	X. Balaios	52	419	
	Altadas	32	451	
	Mamythos	30	481	
	Manchaleus	30	511	
	Sphairos	20	531	
	XV. Mamylos	30	561	
	Sparethus	40	601	
	Askatades	40	641	
	Amyntês	45	686	
	Bêlochos	25	711	p. 86.
30	XX. Balatorês	30	741	
	Lampridês	32	773	
	Sôsarês	20	793	
	Lampares	30	823	
	Panyas	45	868	
	XXV. Sôsamos	19	887	
	Mithraios	37	924	
	Tautanês. In his time Ilion was taken by the Greeks, who had made war upon it	31	955	
40	Teutaios	40	995	
	Thinaios	30	1025	
	XXX. Derkylos	40	1065	
	Eupales. In his time David reigned over Israel	38	1103	
	Laosthenês. In his time the Israelites were divided into two kingdoms	40	1143	
	Piritiades	30	1173	
	Ophrataios	20	1193	
50	XXXV. Ophratanês. On the 167th day of the 42nd year of his reign Homer was born, who is with the Greeks the first poet, as Imru'ul-Kais with the Arabs	50	1243	
	Akraganês	42	1285	
	XXXVII. Thônos Konkoleros	20	1305	

p. 87. Western authors relate that, during the reign of this last king (Thônos Konkoleros. *alias* Sardanapalus), the prophet Jonah was sent to Niniveh, and that a foreigner, called *Arbâk* (Arbaces) in Hebrew, *Dah-âk* in Persian, and *Ḍaḥḥâk* in Arabic, came forward against this king, made war upon him, put him to flight, killed him, and took possession of the empire, holding it till the time when the Kayânians, the kings of Babylonia, whom western authors are in the habit of calling Chaldæans, brought the empire under their sway. The reign of Arbaces lasted seventy-two years.

Here we must remark that the Chaldæans are not identical with the Kayânians, but were their governors of Babylonia. For the original residence of the Kayânians was Balkh, and when they came down to Mesopotamia, people took to calling them by the same name which they had formerly applied to their governors, i.e. Chaldæans.

According to some chronicler, Nimrôd ben Kûsh ben Ḥâm ben Noah, founded a kingdom in Babylonia twenty-three years after the Confusion of Languages. And that was the earliest kingdom established on earth. The Confusion of Languages happened contemporaneously with the birth of the patriarch Re'û. The same chronicler mentions other kings that rose after Nimrôd, until the empire passed into the hands of the Assyrian kings, the chronology of whom has been illustrated by the preceding table. The chronology of the kings that have been recorded, is represented by the following table:—

The Kings of Babylonia.	How long they reigned.	Sum of the years.
Nimrûd	69	69
تمنوس	85	154
Sâmîrus	72	226
Arpakhshadh	10	236
Babylonia ἀβασίλευτος, till it was occupied by the Assyrians	5	241

p. 88. For the kings of Babylonia, we have also found another chronological tradition, beginning with Nebukadnezar the First (i.e. Nabonassar), and ending with the time when in consequence of the death of Alexander ὁ Κτίστης, people began to date by the reigns of the Ptolemæan princes. This tradition, now, we have transferred into this book, having corrected the numbers for the durations of their reigns. As to the names, however, I have simply transcribed them letter by letter, since I have not had an opportunity to correct them according to their pronunciation. The following table contains this chronological tradition.

	TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE CHALDÆANS.	How long each of them reigned.	The sum of the years.	
	Bukhtanaṣṣar Primus. With him the era in the *Almagest* begins	14	14	
	Nebucadnezar. Nadios	2	16	
	Chinzêros	5	21	
	Ilulaios	5	26	
10	Mardokempad	12	38	
	Arceanus	5	43	
	Ἀβασίλευτος	2	45	
	Bilibes	3	48	
	Aparanadios	6	54	
	Erigebalos	1	55	
	Mesesimordakos	4	59	
	Ἀβασίλευτος δεύτερος	8	67	
	Asaridinos	13	80	
	Saosduchinos	20	100	
20	Nabopolassaros and Kiniladanos	22	122	
	Nebucadnezar	21	143	
	Bukhtanaṣṣar, who conquered Jerusalem	43	186	p. 89
	[illegible]	2	188	
	Belṭeshaṣṣar	4	192	
	Darius the Median, the First	17	209	
	Cyrus, who rebuilt Jerusalem	9	218	
	Cambyses	8	226	
	Darius	36	262	
	Xerxes	21	283	
30	Artaxerxes Primus	43	326	
	Darius	19	345	
	Artaxerxes Secundus	46	391	
	Ochus	21	412	
	[illegible]	2	414	
	Darius	6	420	
	Alexander ben Macedo, ὁ κτίστης	8	428	
	Henceforward people commenced to date from the reign of Philippus.			

p. 90.

Names of the Coptic Kings in Egypt. They are 34 in number, besides the Persians, and they reigned during 894 years.	How long each of them reigned.	The sum of the years.
I. Diospolitæ	178	178
Smendis	26	204
Susennês	101	305
Nepherchsrês	4	309
V. Amenôphthis	9	318
Osochôr	6	324
Psinachês	9	333
Psûsennês	35	368
Sesonchôsis	21	389
X. Osôrthôn	15	404
Takelôthis	*13	417
Petûbastis	25	442
Osôrthôn	9	451
Psammos	10	461
XV. اوفانيراس (Euphanias ?)	44	505
Sabakôn Æthiops	12	517
Sebichôs	12	529
Tarakos Æthiops	20	549
Ammsris Æthiops	12	561
p. 91. XX. Stephinathis	7	568
Nechepsôs	6	574
Nechaô	8	582
Psammêtichos	44	626
Nechepsô (?) Nechaô (?)	6	632
XXV. Psammûthis	17	649
Vaphris	25	674
Amasis	42	716
The Persians till Darius	114	330
Amyrtaios	6	336
XXX. Nepheritês	6	342
Achôris	12	354
Psammûthis and Muthâtos (!)	2	356
Nektanebês	13	369
Teôs	7	376
XXXV. Nektanebos	18	394
Henceforward people ceased to date by the reigns of these and the Chaldean kings and commenced to use the era of Alexander the Greek.		

* P. adds 58, L. adds 3, as the reading of another manuscript.

Here we add the chronological tables of the Ptolemæans and the Roman Emperors. Chronology since the time of Philippus (Aridæus) consists of three parts:—I. of *Anni Philippi*; II. of *Anni Augusti*; III. of *Anni Diocletiani*. The first are the non-intercalated years of the Alexandrians; the second are the intercalated years of the Greeks; and of the same kind as the second are the *Anni Diocletiani*. With this king a new era commences, because, when the empire had devolved upon him, it remained with his descendants, and because after his death the Christian faith was generally adopted. Another (later) era than the *Æra Diocletiani* has not been mentioned, although the rule several times slipped out of the hands of his family. God knows best! Here follow the tables:—

p. 92.

NAMES OF THE KINGS OF MACEDONIA, who are the Greeks (Ionians), also called Ptolemæans.	How long they reigned.	Sum of the years.
Philippus	7	7
Alexander II. filius Alexandri	12	19
Ptolemæus filius Lagi ὁ λογικός. He conquered Palestine, went up to Jerusalem and led the Israelites into captivity. Afterwards he restored them to liberty and made them a present of the vases of their Temple	20	39
Ptolemæus Philadelphus. He caused the Thora to be translated into Greek	38	77
Ptolemæus Euergetes Phuskon Primus	25	102
Ptolemæus Philometor	17	119
Ptolemæus Epiphanes Phuskon Secundus	24	143
Ptolemæus Philopator the Deliverer	35	178
Ptolemæus Euergetes Alexander Secundus	29	207
Ptolemæus Soter the Iron-smith, *Artium Fautor*	36	243
Ptolemæus Dionysius Optimus	29	272
Cleopatra, till the time when Gajus, in Latin Julius, became Dictator	—	275
Cleopatra, till the death of Gajus and the succession of his son Augustus.	4a. 6m.	279
Cleopatra, till the time when he (Augustus) killed her	14a. 6m.	294

The calling Cleopatra by the name of *Ptolemæus* is a point of discussion, on account of her being a woman. But as she resided in Alexandria, and was the queen of it, she was called by that name. Gajus, in Latin Julius, means "*king of the world.*"

	Names of the Roman Kings, i.e. the Cæsers who resided in Rome. They are the Banû-el'asfar, i.e. the descendants of Şephô ben 'Eliphâz ben Esau ben Isaak ben Abraham.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the years.	
	Augustus Cæsar, after he had killed Cleopatra	43	43	
	Tiberius filius Augusti	22	65	
	Gajus	4	69	
	Claudius, who killed the Apostle Paul and Simeon Petrus	14	83	
	Nero, who killed the believers	14	97	10
	Vespasianus. One year after his accession to the throne he conquered Palestine, and having besieged the Jews in Jerusalem for three years, he destroyed it, killed many, scattered the rest over the empire, and abolished their religious rites	10	107	
	Titus	8	110	
	Domitianus. In the 9th year of his reign Johannes the Evangelist was banished. Thereupon he hid himself on an island till the emperor's death. Then he left the island and dwelt in Ephesus	15	125	20
	Nerva	1	126	
	Trajanus	19	145	
	Hadrianus. It was he who destroyed Jerusalem and forbads anyone entering it in the 18th year of his reign	21	166	
	Antoninus. It was he who rebuilt Jerusalem. Galenus says that he composed a book on anatomy in the beginning of his reign	23	189	
	Commodus	32	221	
94.	Severus and Antoninus	25	246	30
	Antoninus alone. Towards the end of his reign Galenus died	4	250	
	Alexander filius Mammææ. Mammæa means "*weak*"	13	263	
	Maximinus	3	266	
	Gordianus	6	272	
	Philippus	6	278	
	Decius, who occurs in the story of the Seven Sleepers	1	279	
	Gallus	3	282	40
	Valerianus	15	287!	
	Claudius	1	288	
	Aurelianus	6	294	
	Probus	7	301	
	Carus and Carinus	2	303	

93.

	Names of the Kings of Christendom.	How long each of them reigned.	Anni Diocletiani.	
	Diocletianus	21	2 1	p. 95.
	Constantious. The first king who adopted Christianity. He built the walls of Constantinople. In the 1st year of his reign his mother, Helene, sought for the wood of the Cross, which she finally found. In the 19th year the bishops			
10	assembled in Nicæa and established the canons of Christianity	32	53	
	Constantinus (Constantius)	24	77	
	Julianus Apostata	2	79	
	Valentinianus	1	80	
	Valens. He was burned, in escaping, in a barn	14	94	
	Theodosius the Great	17	111	
	Arcadius, his son	13	124	
	Theodosius Minor. In his time Nestorius was excommunicated	42	166	
20	Marcianus and his wife Pulcheria. In their time the Jacobites were excommunicated	6	172	
	Leo the Great. He belonged to the moderate party	13	190	
	Zeno Alarmânâki. He was a Jacobite	17	2 07	
	Anastasius. He built Ammorium, and was a Jacobite	27	234	
	Justinus	9	243	
	Justinianus. He built the church in Ruhâ (Edessa)	37	2 80	
	Tiberius	14	294	
	Mauricios. He helped Kisrâ against Bahrâm Shûbin	14!	2 98!	
30	Phocas, who was besieged in Constantinople by Shahrbarâz, the general of Kisrâ	8	318!	p. 96.
	Heraclius the wise	31	349	
	Constantinus. He was murdered in the bath	1	350	
	Constantious	27	377	
	Constantinus	16	393	
	Justinianus. The Greeks cut off his nose	10	403	
	Leontius. He was found to be a weak man, being decrepit. So he was dethroned	8	406	
	Tiberius. Apsimarus	7	413	
	Justinianus Rhinomêtos	6	419	
40	Philippicus	3	422	
	Anastasius. Atlîmus (Artemius). He was dethroned, when he could not carry on the war	2	424	
	Theodosius. He was besieged by Maslama ben 'Abd-almalik	1	425	
	Leo the Great. He deceived Maslama and repulsed him from Constantinople	24	449	
	Constantinus, the son of Leo the Great	34	483	
	Leo Junior, the son of Constantinus Senior	4	487	
	Constantinus Junior, the son of Leo Junior	18	505	
	Augusta (Irene) ruled the Greek empire	5	510	
50	Nicephorus and Stauracius the son of Nicephorus	18	528	
	Michael the son of Georgius	2	—	
	Leo, till he was murdered by Michael in the church	7	—	
	Michael Constantinopolitanus, the murderer of Leo ben Theophilus ben Michael Constantinopolitanus	7a. 6m.	—	
	Basilius the Slavonian, the last of their kings	8a. 6m.	—	

THE KINGS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, as Ḥamza Aliṣfahâni records them on the authority of the judge Alwaki', who took them from a book that belonged to the Greek Emperor.	How long each of them reigned. Years.	Months.	Sum of the years. Years.	Months.
Constantinus, the son of Helene, the Victorious	31	0	31	0
Constantinus, his son	24	0	55	0
Julianus his nephew	2	6	57	6
Theodosius	10	9	68	3
Gratianus. Valentinianus	6	0	74	3
Arcadius, the son of Theodosius	13	8	87	6
Theodosius, the son of Arcadius	42	0	129	6
Marcianus	29	0	158	8
Leo Senior	16	0	174	6
Leo Junior	1	0	175	6
Zeno	17	0	192	6
Anastasius	27	4	219	10
Antîs	11	9	231	7
Ḳastrôndas. During his reign the Prophet was born	38	3	269	10
Stephanus	4	3	2731	1
Marcianus (Mauricius). During his reign the Prophet received his Divine mission	20	4	293	5
Phocas. During his reign the flight of the Prophet occurred	8	0	301	5
Heraclius and his son. During their reign the Prophet died	31	0	332	5
Constantinus, the son of Heraclea	25	0	367 ?	5
Constantinus, the son of Heracles' wife	17	0	384	5
Constantinus, the son of Heraclos	10	0	394	5
Leo or Leon (Lâwî or Elyûn)	8	0	397	5
Tiberius	7	0	411 ?	5
Estînus (Justinianus)	6	0	417	5
Anastasius	6	0	423	5
Theodosius	2	0	425	5
Leo. During his reign the empire of the Banû-'Umayya was dismembered	25	3	450	8
Leo, the son of Constantinus. People think that he was a worthless character, notwithstanding the length of his reign	5	0	455	8
Constantinus, the son of Leo	9	10	465	8
Constantinus	6	5	471	11
Ireus, who received the empire from her father	5	0	476	11
Nicephorus, at the time of Hârûn Alrashîd	8	11	485	10
Stauracius, his son	0	2	488	0
Michael, his son	7	5	[478 ?]	5
Theophilus, his son	22	8	498	8
Michael, the son of Theophilus. With this king the dynasty expires—at the time of the Khalîf Al-mu'tazz	28	0	526	8
Basilius the Slavonian	20	0	546	8
Leo the son of Basilius. Anno Hijræ 278 at the time of Almu'taḍid	26	0	[572]	8
Alexander, the son of Basilius. He died from a tumour in the belly, A.H. 299	1	2	[573]	10
Constantinus, the son of Leo, A.H. 301.	—	—	—	—

Chronology of the Persians. — The Persians call the first man *Gayômarth*, with the surname *Girshâh*, *i.e.* "*king of the mountain*," or, as others say, *Gilshâh*, *i.e.* "*king of the clay*," because at that time there was no other man in existence (but himself, there being nothing but clay). People say that his name (Gayômarth) means "*a living, rational, mortal being*." p. 99.

The chronology of the Persians beginning with Gayômarth is divided into three parts:—

A. Part I. From Gayômarth till the time when Alexander killed Darius, seized upon the provinces of the Persians, and transferred their scientific treasures to his own country.

B. Part II. From that time till the time when Ardashîr ben Bâbak came forward, and the Persian empire was re-established.

C. Part III. From that time till the time when Yazdajird ben Shahryâr was killed, when the empire of the Sasanian dynasty was dissolved and Islâm arose.

Regarding the beginning of the world, the Persians relate many curious traditions, how Ahriman, *i.e.* the devil, was born out of the thought of God and of his pride in the world. And also regarding Gayômarth: for God, being bewildered at the sight of Ahriman, was covered with sweat on the forehead; this he wiped off and threw away; and out of this sweat Gayômarth was born. Then God sent him to Ahriman, who overpowered him, and began to travel about in the world, always riding upon him. At last, Ahriman asked him what was the most odious and horrible thing to him. Whereupon he said, that on arriving at the gate of hell he would suffer a painful terror. On having arrived, then, at the gate of hell, he became refractory, and managed by various contrivances to throw off the rider. But now Ahriman re-mounted him, and asked him from what side he was to begin devouring him. Gayômarth answered: "From the side of the foot, that I may still for some time look at the beauty of the world," knowing quite well that Ahriman would do the contrary of what he told him. Then Ahriman commenced devouring him from the head, and when he had come as far as the testicles and the spermatic vessels in the loins, two drops of sperma fell down on the earth. And out of these drops grew two Rîbâs bushes (*Rheum ribes*), from among which Mêshâ and Mêshâna sprang up, *i.e.* the Persian Adam and Eve. They are also called Malhâ and Malhayâna, and the Zoroastrians of Khwârizm call them Mard and Mardâna.

This is what I have heard from the geometrician, 'Abû-alḥasan Âdharkhûr.

In a different form this tradition, regarding the origin of mankind, is related by 'Abû-'Alî Muḥammad ben 'Aḥmad Albalkhî, the poet, in the

Shâhnâma, who premises that he has corrected his report on the basis of the following sources:—

I. *Kitâb-siyar-almulûk* by 'Abdallâh ben Almuḳaffa'.
II. „ „ by Muḥammad ben Aljahm Albarmakî.
III. „ „ by Hishâm ben Alkâsim.
IV. „ „ by Bahrâm ben Mardânshâh, the Maubadh of the city of Sâbûr.
V. „ „ by Bahrâm ben Mihrân Alisbahânî.

Besides he has compared his account with that of the Zoroastrian Bahrâm of Herât. He says: Gayômarth stayed in Paradise 3,000 years, *i.e.* the millennia of Aries, Taurus, and Gemini. Then he fell down on the earth and lived there safely and quietly three other millennia, those of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo, till the time when all that is evil in the world was brought about by Ahriman. The story is as follows: that Gayômarth, who was called *Girshâh*, because *Gir* means in Pahlavî "*mountain*," dwelt in the mountains (Aljibâl-Media), being endowed with so much beauty that no living being could view him without becoming terrified and losing the control of its senses.

Now, Ahriman had a son called *Khrûra*, who one day met with Gayômarth, and was killed by him. Whereupon, Ahriman complained to God of Gayômarth; and God resolved to punish him in order to keep those covenants that existed between him and Ahriman. So he showed him first the punishments of this world and of the day of resurrection and other things, so that Gayômarth at last desired to die, whereupon God killed him. At the same moment two drops of sperma fell down out of his loins on the mountain Dâmdâdh in Istakhr, and out of them grew two Rîhâs-bushes, on which at the beginning of the ninth month the limbs (of two human bodies) began to appear, which by the end of that month had become complete and assumed human shape. These two are Mêshâ and Mêshyâna. Fifty years they lived without any necessity for eating and drinking, joyfully and without any pain. But then Ahriman appeared to them in the shape of an old man, and induced them to take the fruit of the trees. He himself commenced eating them, whereupon he at once again became a young man. And now they (Mêshâ and Mêshyâna) began to eat. Then they were plunged into misfortunes and evils. Lust arose in them, in consequence of which they copulated. A child was born unto them, but they devoured it from sheer ravenousness. But then God inspired their hearts with mildness. Afterwards the wife gave birth to six other children, the names of whom are known in the Avastâ. The seventh birth produced Siyâmak and Frâvâk, who married and begot a son Hôshang.

Regarding the chronology of this first part, the lives of the kings and their famous deeds, they relate things which do not seem admissible to the mind of the reader. However, the aim of our undertaking being to

collect and to communicate chronological material, not to criticize and correct historical accounts, we record that on which the scholars of the Persians, the Hêrbadhs, and Maubadhs of the Zoroastrians agree among themselves, and which is received on their authority. At the same time we collect the materials in tables, as we have done heretofore, in order that our work may proceed on the same plan which we have laid down for the chronologies of the other nations.

To the names of the kings we add their epithets, because they are distinguished by individual epithets, whilst as to the other kings, if they have any epithet at all, it is one common to their whole class, by which he as well as everybody else who reigns in his place is called. Those common epithets correspond to the Shâhânshâh of the Persians. A list of them we give in the following table:—

The Classes of Princes.	The Epithets that apply to the Princes of these Classes.
The Sâsânian kings of the Persians . .	Shâhânshâh and Kisrâ.
The Greek kings	Bâsilî, *i.e.* Cæsar.
The kings of Alexandria	Ptolemæus.
„ Yaman	Tubba'.
„ the Turks, Chazar, and Taghargḥuz	Khâkhân.
„ the Ghuzz-Turks . . .	Ḥanûta.
„ the Chinese	Baghbûr.
„ India	Balharâ.
„ Ḳannûj	Râbî.
„ the Ethiopians . . .	Almajâshî.
„ the Nubians . . .	Kâbîl.
„ the islands in the eastern ocean	Maharâj.
„ the mountains of Ṭabaristân	Ispahhadh.
„ Dunbâwand . . .	Masmaghân.
„ Gharjistân	Shâr.
„ Sarakhs	Zâdhawaihi.
„ Nasâ and Abîward . .	Bâhmana.
„ Kash	Nidûn.
„ Farghâna	Ikhshîd.
„ Asrûshana	Afshîn.
„ Shâsh	Tudun.
„ Marw	Mâhawaihi.
„ Nishâpûr	Kanbâr.
Samarḳand	Tarkhûn.
„ Sarîr	Alḥajjâj.
„ Dahistân	Sûl.
„ Jurjân	Anâhpadh.

p.10

The Classes of Princes.	The Epithets that apply to the Princes of these Classes.
92. The kings of the Sclavonians . . .	Ḳabbâr.
„ the Syrians	Nimrôdh.
„ the Egyptians . . .	Pharaoh.
„ Bâmiyân	Shîr-i-Bâmiyân.
„ Egypt	Al'azîz.
„ Kâbul	Kâbul-Shâh.
„ Tirmidh	Tirmidh-Shâh.
„ Khwârizm	Khwârizm-Shâh.
„ Shirwân	Shirwân-Shâh.
„ Bukhârâ	Bukhârâ-Khudâh.
„ Gûzgânân	Gûzgân-Khudâh.

Individual epithets (of princes) were not in use before the reign of Islâm, except among the Persians.

Part I. is divided into three parts:—

1. *Pêshdâdhians*, those who ruled over the whole world, founded cities, discovered mines and produced the metals, and found out the elements of handicrafts and arts; who practised justice on earth, and worshipped God as is his due.

2. *Kings of Êlân*, which means "*people of the highlands.*" They did not rule over the whole earth. The first who divided the empires of the world was Frêdûn *the Pure*, for he divided them between his sons, as a poet, a descendant of the family of the Kisrâs, says—

"Then we have divided our empire in our time,
Just as people divide meat on a meat-board.
Syria and Greece as far as the setting-place of the sun
We have given to a champion, to *Salm*.
To *Tûr* the Turks were given, and so a cousin
Holds the country of the Turks.
And to *Êrân* Al'irâḳ was given by dint of force. He has
Obtained the rule, and we have obtained the benefits thereof."

3. *Kayânians*, the heroes. In their days the rule over the world became divided between the various nations.

Between those parts (of ancient Persian chronology) there are gaps, on account of which the order and progress of chronology are much troubled and obscured.

Here follow the kings of Part I., according to the opinion of the generality of the Persians.

p.103.

The classes of the Kings.	The Names of the Persian Kings of Part I.	Their Epithets.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the years.
The first men.	*Gayômarth*	Girshâh .	30	30
	Till the birth of Mêshâ and Mêshâna, who is called "*Mater filiorum et filiarum.*" These two are the Persian Adam and Eve . .	—	40	70
	Till Mêshâ and Mêshâna married . .	—	50	120
	Till the birth of Hôshang	—	93	218
The Pîshdâdians, the Just.	*Hôshang* bon Afrâwâk hen Siyâmak hen Mêshâ	Pêshdâdh	40	253
	Tahmûrath ben Wijahân bon Înkuhadh ben Hôshang—till the coming-forward of Bûdâsaf .	Zêbâwand	1	254
	Tho same—after that event	—	29	283
	Jam ben Wijnhân. From the time when he ordered people to fabricate weapons till the time when he ordered them to spin and weave	Shêdh .	50	333
	Till the time when he ordered people to divide themselves into four classes . . .	—	50	383
	Till the time when he made war upon the demons and subdued them . . .	—	50	433
	Till the time when he ordered the demons to break rocks out of the mountains and to carry them	—	100	533
	Till the time when he ordered a wheeled-carriage to be constructed. It *was* constructed, and he rode upon it . . .	—	66	599
	After that, people lived in health and happiness—till the time when he hid himself . .	—	300	899
	He continued to be hidden—till he was seized by Aldahhâk, who tore out his bowels and sawed him with a saw	—	100	999
	Aldahhâk ben 'Ulwân of the Amalekites or—with another name—Bêvarasp ben Arwandasp ben Zîngâs hen Barîshand hen Ghar, who was the father of the pure Arabians, ben Afrâwâk ben Siyâmak ben Mêshâ . .	Azdanhâk	1000	1999
	Afrêdûn ben Athfiyân Gân hen Athfiyân Nigâo hen Athfiyân ben Shahrgâo ben Athfiyân Akhunhagân hen Athfiyân Sipêdhgâo ben Athfiyân Dîzsgâo hen Athfiyân Nigâo ben Nêfurûsh ben Jam the King . . .	Almanbadh	200	2199
The kings of Îrân, the people of the highlands.	*Îraj*. He was killed by his brothers *Salm* and *Tôj*, who reigned after him. They were all three sons of Afrêdûn . . .	Almanṣafâ	300	2499
	Minôshjihr ben Gûzan, the daughter of Îraj—till the time when he killed Tôj and Salm, i.e. Sharm in Persian	Fêrôz .	20	2519
	Till the time when the son of Ṭôj occupied Êrânshahr, and drove Minôshjihr out of the country	—	60	2579
	Firâsiyâb hen Bashang ben Înst hen Rîshman ben Turk hen Zshanasp hen Arshasp ben Tôj—till the time when Minûshjihr gained the victory over him and drove him away. Thereupon they made a treaty on the basis of the well-known arrow-shot . . .	—	12	2591

p.104.

The classes of the Kings.	The Names of the Persian Kings of Part I.	Their Epithets.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the years.
The kings of Ṭabaristân, the people of the highlands.	Minôshjihr—till his death	—	28	2619
	Tûr the Turk occupying Al-Ṭirâḳ	Firâsiyâb	12	2631
	Zâb ben Tahmâsp ben Kamjahûbar ben Zû ben Hûshab ben Widînak ben Dûsar ben Minôshjihr together with—	The two companions.	5	2636
	Garshâsp, i.e. Sâm ben Narîmân ben Tahmâsp ben Ashak ben Nûh ben Dûsar ben Minôshjihr			
The Kayânians, the heroes.	*Kaiḳobâdh* ben Zegh ben Nûdhagâ ben Mâishû ben Nûdhar ben Minôshjihr	The First	100	2736
	Kaikâûs ben Kainiya ben Kaiḳobâdh—till he rebelled, wherenpon he was taken prisoner by Shammar and afterwards delivered by Rustam ben Dastân ben Garshâsp the King.	Nimrud	75	2811
	The same—from the latter event till his death	—	75	2886
	Kaikhusrû ben Siyâwush ben Kaikâûs—till the time when he went away as a holy pilgrim and hid himself	Humâyûn	60	2946
	Kailuhrâsp ben Kaiwajl ben Kaimanish ben Kaikubâdh—till he sent Bukhtanassar to Jerusalem, who destroyed it	The Bactrian	60	3006
	The same after that event		60	3066
	Kaiwishtâsp ben Luhrâsp—till the appearance of Zoroaster	Alberbadh	30	3096
	The same after that event	—	90	3186
	Kai Ardashîr—Bahman ben Isfandiyâr ben Wishtâsp	Tall in the body.	112	3298
	Khumânî the daughter of Ardashîr—Bahman	Cihrâzâd	30	3328
	Dârâ ben Ardashîr—Bahman	The great	12	3340
	Dârâ ben Dârâ—till he was killed by Alexander the Greek	The second	14	3354

The account of the chronology of this Part I., which we have given, is stated very differently in the *Kitâb-alsiyar*. Our account, however, comes nearest to that view regarding which people agree. The chronology of this same part, but in a different shape, I have also found in the book of Ḥamza ben Alḥusain Alisfahânî, which he calls "*Chronology of great nations of the past and present.*" He says that he has endeavoured to correct his account by means of the *Âbastâ*, which is the religious code (of the Zoroastrians). Therefore I have transferred it into this place of my book.

TABLE II. OF PART I.

	Names of the Pêshdâdhian Kings, taken from the Abastâ, beginning with Gayômarth.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.	
	Gayômarth the first man	40	40	p.106.
	An interregnum of 170 years.	—	—	
	Hôshang	40	80	
	Tahmûrath	30	110	
10	Jam	616	726	
	Bêwarasp	1000	1726	
	Afrêdûn	500	2226	
	Minôshcihr	120	2346	
	Firâsyâb	12	2358	
	An interregnum of unknown length.	—	—	
	Zâb	9	2367	
	Garshâsp together with Zâb . . .	8	2370	
	An interregnum.	—	—	
	Names of the Kayânian Kings.			p.107.
20	Kaikohâdh	126	2494	
	Kaikâûs	150	2646	
	Kaikhusrau	80	2726	
	Kailuhrâsp	120	2846	
	Kaibishtâsp	120	2966	
	Kaiardashîr	112	3078	
	Cihrâzâd	30	3108	
	Dârâ ben Bahman	12	3120	
	Dârâ ben Dârâ	14	3134	

p.108. Further, Ḥamza relates that he has found also this part of Persian chronology in the copy of the Maubadh, such as is exhibited in the following table:—

TABLE III. OF PART I.

Names of the Pêshdâdhian Kings, taken from the Copy of the Maubadh.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.
Gayômarth	30	30
Mêshâ and Mêshânâ—till they got children	50	80
Till their death	50	130
Interregnum	94	224
Hôshang	40	264
Ṭahmûrath	30	294
Jam—till he hid himself	616	910
He remained hidden	100	1010
Bêwarasp	1000	2010
Frêdûn	500	2510
Minôshcihr	120	2630
Zû and Garshâsp	4	2634
p.109. Names of the Kayânian Kings.		
Kaikobâdh	100	2734
Kaikâûs	150	2884
Kaikhusrau	60	2944
Luhrâsp	120	3064
Bishtâsp	120	3184
Ardashîr	112	3296
Cihrâzâd	30	3326
Dârâ ben Bahman	12	3338
Dârâ ben Dârâ	14	3352

p.110. In the biographical and historical books that have been translated from the works of Western authors, you find an account of the kings of Persia and Babylonia, beginning with Frêdûn, whom they call, as people say, Yâfûl (Pûl ?), and ending with Dârâ, the last of the Persian kings. Now, we find that these records differ greatly (from Eastern records) as to the number of the kings and their names, as to the durations of their reigns, their history, and their description. I am inclined to think that they confounded the kings of Persia with their governors of Babylonia, and put both side by side. But if we altogether refrain from mentioning those records, we should deprive this book of something that forms a due part of it, and we should turn away the mind of the reader therefrom. We, now, exhibit this tradition in a special table of its own, in

order to prevent confusion getting into the arrangement of the various systems and traditions of this book. Here it follows:—

The Kings of Persia, beginning with Frêdûn, according to Western authors.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.
Yâfûl, *i.e.* Frêdûn	35	35
Tighlath Pilesar	35	70
Salmanassar, *i.e.* Salm	14	84
Sanherib ben Salmanassar, *i.e.* in Persian: Sanâraft	9	93
Sardûm (Ezarhaddon), *i.e.* Zû ben Tûmâsp	3	96
After him the following powerful kings reigned:—		
Kaikobâdh	49	145
Sanherib II.	31	176
Mâjam	33	209
Bukhtanaṣṣar, *i.e.* Kaikâûs	57	266
Evilad ben Bukhtanaṣṣar	1	267
Belteshaṣṣar ben Evilad	2	269
Dârâ Almâbî I., *i.e.* Darius	9	278
Koresh, *i.e.* Kaikhusrau	8	286
Cyrus, *i.e.* Luhrâsp	34	320
Cambyses	80	400
Dârâ II.	36	436
Xerxes ben Dârâ, *i.e.* Khusrau I.	26	462
Ardashîr ben Xerxes, called *μακροχείρ*, *i.e.* Longimanus	41	503
Khusrau II.	30	533
Sogdianus, Notos ben Khusrau	9	542
Ardashîr ben Dârâ II.	41	583
Ardashîr III.	27	610
Arses ben Ochus	12	622
Dârâ, the last king of Persia	16	638

p.111.

The Jews, Zoroastrians, Christians, and the various sects of them, relate the *origines mundi* and carry chronology down from them, having previously admitted the truth of such *origines*, and having gained certain views regarding them, on which people either agree or differ. He, however, who denies such *origines*, cannot adopt that which is built upon them, except after producing various sorts of interpretations which he adds of his own. p.112.

However, those *origines mundi*, *i.e.* Adam and Eve, have been used as the epoch of an era. [And some people maintain that *time* consists of cycles, at the end of which all created beings perish, whilst they grow at their beginning; that each such cycle has a special Adam and Eve of its own, and that the chronology of this cycle depends upon them.

Other people, again, maintain that in each cycle a special Adam and Eve exist for each country in particular, and that hence the difference of human structure, nature, and language is to be derived.

Other people, besides, hold this foolish persuasion, *viz.* that *time* has no *terminus a quo* at all; they take some dogmas from the founders of religions, in order to construct some system by means of them. Many philosophers of this class have built up such systems. You could hardly find a prettier tale of this kind than that one produced by Sa'îd ben Muḥammad Aldhuhlî in his book. For he says: "People lived in bitter enmity and strife with each other; the better among them were maltreated and oppressed by the worse. But then, at last, the just king, Pêshdâdh, transplanted them to a place, called *Firdaus* (Paradise), situated between Adan and Serendîb. It was a place where aloe, cloves, and various sorts of perfumes were growing, and all kinds of delicious things were to be found. There they dwelt, till one day a demon (*'Ifrît*) came upon them, the king of the wicked, and began quarrelling with them. In the same place Pêshdâdh found a boy and girl, the parents of whom were unknown. These he educated and called them *Mêshâ* and *Mêshâna*, and made them marry each other. Thereupon they committed sin, and so he drove them out of that country." The tale as it has been related, is extremely long. He says that the interval between the time of their settlement in Paradise, the beginning of all chronology, and their meeting the demon was one year; till the time when Mêsha and Mêshâna were found, two more years elapsed; till their marriage, forty-one years; till their death, thirty years; and till the death of Pêshdâdh, ninety-nine years elapsed. But then he ceases from going on with his chronological account and does not carry it on.

Chronology of the Ashkanians.—As to Part II. of Persian chronology from Alexander till the rise of Ardashîr ben Bâbak, it must be known that during this period the "*Petty Princes*" existed, *i.e.* those princes whom Alexander had installed as rulers over certain special districts, who were all totally independent of each other. To the same period belongs the empire of the Ashkânians, who held 'Irâḳ and the
p.118. country of Mâh, *i.e.* Aljibâl, under their sway. They were the most valiant among the "*Petty Princes*;" still the others did not obey them, but only honoured them for this reason, that they descended from the royal Persian house. For the first prince of the Ashkânians was *Ashk* ben Ashkân, called Afghûrshâh ben Balâsh ben Shâpûr ben Ashkân ben اس الى. اس انكار hen Siyâwush ben Kaikâûs.

Most Persian chroniclers have connected the reign of Alexander immediately with that of the first Ashkânian prince, by which that period was most improperly curtailed. Others say that the Ashkânians came into power some time after Alexander, whilst others go on blundering without any knowledge of the matter.

I shall relate in this place such of their traditions as I have learned,

and shall endeavour, as much as is in my power, to amend that which is wrong, to refute that which is false, and to establish the truth, beginning with that which corresponds most nearly to the Table I. of Part I., I also call it Table I. (of Part II.) :—

Table of the Names of the Ashkânian Kings, corresponding to the Table I. of Part I.		How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.
——	Their Surnames.		
Alexander the Greek.	. . . .	14	14
Ashk ben Ashkân	Khôshdih	13	27
Ashk ben Ashk ben Ashk	Ashkân	25	52
Shâpûr ben Ashk	Zarrîn	30	82
Bahrâm ben Shâpûr	Khûrûn	21	103
Narsî ben Bahrâm	Gîsûwar	25	128
Hurmuz ben Narsî	Sâlâr	40	168
Bahrâm ben Hurmuz	Rôshan	25	193
Fêrôz ben Bahrâm	Balâd	17	210
Kisrâ ben Fêrôz	Barâdih	20	230
Narsî ben Fêrôz	Shikârî	30	260
Ardawân ben Narsî	The last	20	280

Next follows what corresponds to the Table II. of the same Part I., that which Ḥamza has taken from the Abastâ. This, again, I call the Tabula II., for the purpose of connecting those portions of the three parts of Persian chronology that bear the same name (as Table I., II., III. of Parts I., II., III.) with each other, and to bring the tables, thereby, into a good order. It will not be necessary to mention this another time :— p.114.

TABLE II. OF PART II. IN THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TABLES.

Names of the Ashkânian Kings, according to Ḥamza.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.
Alexander the Greek	14	14
Ashk ben Balâsh ben Shâpûr ben Ashkân ben Ash the hero	52	66
Shâpûr ben Ashk	24	90
Jûdhar ben Wîjan ben Shâpûr . . .	50	140
Wîjan ben Balâsh ben Shâpûr, the nephew of the preceding	21	161
Jûdhar ben Wîjan ben Balâsh . . .	19	180
Narsa ben Wîjan	30	210
Hurmuzân ben Balâsh, the uncle of the preceding	17	227
Fêrôzân ben Hurmuzân	12	239
Khusrau ben Fêrôzân	40	279
Balâsh ben Fêrôzân	24	303
Ardawân ben Balâsh ben Fêrôzân . . .	55	358

To this I add that which in the order of the tables is the third one, which Ḥamza says he has taken from the copy of the Mauhadh, in order that the subject may be carried on, as it has been done in the two preceding tables. Here follows the Table III. of Part II.:—

TABLE III. OF PART II.

p.115.

NAMES OF THE ASHKÂNIAN KINGS, taken by Ḥamza from the Copy of the Mauhadh.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.
Alexander the Greek	14	14
After him reigned a class of Greek princes, with their Persian vizirs, altogether 14 in number	68	82
Ashk ben Dârâ ben Dârâ ben Dârâ	10	92
Ashk ben Ashkân	20	112
Shâpûr ben Ashkân	60	172
Bahrâm ben Shâpûr	11	183
Balâsh ben Shâpûr	11	194
Hurmuz ben Balâsh	40	234
Fêrôz ben Hurmuz	17	251
Balâsh ben Fêrôz	12	263
Khusrau ben Malâdhân	40	303
Balâshân	24	327
Ardawân ben Balâshân	13	340
Ardawân the Great, ben Ashkânân	23	363
Khusrau ben Ashkânân	15	378
Bahâfirîd ben Ashkânân	15	393
Jûdhar ben Ashkânân	22	415
Balâsh ben Ashkânân	30	445
Narsî ben Ashkânân	20	465
Ardawân, the last	31	496

p.116. Next I shall produce what I found in the chronicle of 'Abû-alfaraj 'Ibrâhîm ben 'Aḥmad ben Khalaf Alzanjânî the mathematician. This man, on having taken pains to compare the discordant traditions with each other, gives the following account of the "*Petty Princes*," and the durations of their reigns, as is exhibited in the following table. He maintains that the Persians fixed only the historical tradition regarding the Ashkânian princes, not regarding the other "*Petty Princes*," and that the Ashkânians first brought 'Irâḳ and Jibâl under their sway *Anno Alexandri* 246.

The Ashkânians, according to the Chronicle of 'Abû-alfaraj.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.
Alexander the Greek	14	14
The "*Petty Princes*"	246	260
Afghûrshâh	10	270
Shâpûr ben Ashkân	60	330
Jûdhar, Senior	10	340
Bizan the Ashkânian	21	361
Jûdhar the Ashkânian	19	380
Narsî the Ashkânian	40	420
Hurmuz	17	437
Ardawân	12	449
Khusrau	40	489
Balâsh	24	513
Ardawân, Junior	13	526

We have also found a chronological synopsis of this same Part II. in the Shâhnâma by 'Abû-Manṣûr 'Abd-alrazzâḳ, such as we exhibit in the following table:—

p.117.

The Ashkânians, according to the Shâhnâma.	How long each of them reigned.	Sum of the Years.
Ashk ben Dârâ, according to others a descendant of *Arish*	13	13
Ashk ben Ashk	25	38
Shâpûr ben Ashk	30	68
Bahrâm ben Shâpûr	51	119
Narsî ben Bahrâm	25	144
Hurmuz ben Narsî	40	184
Bahrâm ben Hurmuz	5	189
Hurmuz	7	196
Fêrôz ben Hurmuz	20	216
Narsî ben Fêrôz	30	246
Ardawân	20	266

The nature of this Part II. is brought to light by a comparative examination of these tables. It is a period that begins with Alexander's conquest of Persia, and ends with the rising of Ardashîr ben Bâbak and his seizing the empire out of the hands of the Ashkânians. Both these limits are well known, and generally agreed upon. How, then,

can the interval between them be a matter of doubt to us? However, it must be kept in mind that we are not able to make out by a mere course of reasoning the duration of the rule of each of the Ashkânian princes, nor of the other "*Petty Princes*," nor the number of the persons who occupied the throne. For all this depends upon historical tradition, and it is well-known to what mishap tradition has been subject. The least, now, we must try to do is to amend this Part II. as much as is in our power.

It is evident and not unknown to anybody, that the year in which Yazdajird came to the throne was *A. Alex.* 943. This undeniable date we shall keep in mind as a basis, and establish it as a gauge by which to measure all their records.

Let us first take the sum of years which we get from the Table I. of Part II., *i.e.* 280 years. Hereto we add that sum which we shall
118. exhibit in the Table I. of Part III. for the time from the beginning of the reign of Ardashîr till that of the reign of Yazdajird, in order to combine the like tables (*i.e.* Table I., II., III. of Part II. respectively, with Table I., II., III. of Part III.) with each other. This latter period is about 410 years. So we get a sum of

690 years,

which is less than our gauge by about 253 years. We shall drop this calculation and not take further notice of it.

Next we consider the sum of years contained in the Table II. of Part II., *i.e.* 358 years. Hereto we add the sum which will be exhibited by Table II. of Part III., corresponding to the sum that occurs in the first calculation, and we get the sum total of

818 years,

which is again less than our gauge by about 125 years.

We shall drop this calculation, too, and proceed to the Tables III. in Parts II. and III., and add them together in the same way as we have done with Table I. and II. Then we get the sum of

930 years,

which is again below our gauge by about thirteen years.

We drop this calculation, and do not further notice it. For chronology does not admit of this difference, although it may be so slight as nearly to approach the truth.

If we make the same calculation with the years exhibited in the book of 'Abû-alfaraj, combining the corresponding tables with each other, we get the sum of

949 years,

which exceeds our gauge by six years.

If we pass by this and add together the years as reported in the Shâhnâma for this Part II., with the result of any of the tables of Part III., this calculation would still less agree with our gauge (than the preceding ones).

Now we shall put aside all these calculations, and try to derive an emendation of them from the book of Mânî, called *Shâbûrkân*, since, of all Persian books, it is one that may be relied upon (as a witness) forthe time immediately following the rise of Ardashîr (ben Bâbak). Besides, Mânî in his law has forbidden telling lies, and he had no need whatsoever for falsifying history.

Mânî, now, says in this book in the chapter of the coming of the prophet, that he was born in Babylonia *Anno Astronomorum Babylonicæ* 527, *i.e.* Anno Alex. 527, and four years after the beginning of the reign of the king *Ádharbán*, whom I believe to be Ardawân the Last. In the same chapter he says that he first received divine revelation when he was thirteen years of age, or *Anno Astronomorum Babylonicæ* 539, two years after the beginning of the reign of Ardashîr the king of kings.

Hereby Mânî states that the interval between Alexander and Ardashîr is 537 years, and that the interval between Ardashîr and the succession of Yazdajird is 406 years. And this result is correct, being based upon the testimony of a book, favoured by God with a long duration, which is used as a religious code.

Further, we are informed by traditions, the correctness of which is proved by their mutual agreement, that the last intercalation was carried out at the time of Yazdajird ben Shâpûr, and that the Epagomenæ were put at the end of that month, to which the turn of intercalation had come, *viz.* the eighth month (Âbân-Mâh). If, now, we count the interval between Alexander and Ardashîr as 537 years, we find the interval between Zoroaster and Yazdajird ben Shâpûr to be nearly 970 years, in which eight leap months are due, since it was their custom to intercalate one month in every 120 years. But if we count that interval (between Alexander and Ardashîr) as 260–270 years, or something more, as 300 years, as most authors do, we get a sum of about 600 years, in which only five leap months would be dus, whilst we have already mentioned their report stating that eight leap months are due in that period. The latter is therefore an irreconcileable supposition (*viz.* that the interval between Alexander and Ardashîr is not more than 260–300 years). p.119.

Likewise it is written in the books of astrologers, that the horoscope of the year in which Ardashîr (ben Bâbak) rose was about half of Gemini, and the horoscope of the year in which Yazdajird rose was the sixth degree of Cancer. If, now, we multiply $93\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, which is the surplus of the solar cycle over the whole days according to the Persians, by 407 years, we get the sum of $152\frac{3}{4}$ degrees. If we subtract this from the rising-place of the degree of the horoscope of that year, in which Yazdajird came to the throne, and take the arc of the remainder for the

rising-place of the region of 'Irâḳ, which was the residence of the Kisrâs, the horoscope is half of Gemini close to the place, which the astrologers mention. If the years, however, are either more or less, the horoscope does not agree (with what it is reported to have been). So, of course, that which is confirmed by two witnesses is more trustworthy than that which is contradicted by many.

If we add to the 407 years, mentioned by the astrologers, the 537 years which are reported by the Shâbûrḳân, we get the sum of 944 years. And that is the year of the Æra Alexandri for Yazdajird's accession to the throne. The surplus of one year is only possible in the reports of such authors as do not give detailed statements regarding the months and minor fractions of time, in consequence of the fact that the years of the Persians and Greeks commence at different times.

Ḥamza relates that Mûsâ ben 'Îsâ Alkisrawî, on having studied this subject, and perceived the confusion we have mentioned, said: "The interval between Alexander and Yazdajird's accession to the throne is 942 years. If we subtract therefrom 266 years for the period of the reign of the Ashkânians, we get for the rule of the Sasanians, from Ardashîr till the accession of Yazdajird, 676 years. In their own traditions the Persians have no such chronological system."

Further, he says: "Thereupon we studied and examined the number of their kings. And here be it noticed that they have forgotten the names of some of them, whom the chroniclers have not mentioned, blending together some of their names on account of their similarity. I shall enumerate them as they really are." Accordingly, he, *i.e.* Mûsa, has increased the durations of their reigns and their number, as we shall explain, when the order of our exposition comes to that subject, if God permits.

120. **Chronology of the Sasanians.**—Now we proceed to treat of the third part of Persian chronology, the beginning of which is the rising of Ardashîr ben Bâbak of the family of Bahman ben Isfandiyâr. For he was the son of Bâbak Shâh ben Sâsân ben Bâbak ben Sâsân ben Bahâfirîd ben Mihrnish ben Sâsân senior ben Bahman ben Isfandiyâr. This part of chronology also is not free from the same defects that beset the former two parts, but still they are less considerable. I commence this part with the Table I., corresponding to the (first) tables of each of the two preceding parts, and I shall proceed hereafter with Table II. and III. If you gather the dates from the single tables of the three parts, you get the consecutive course of Persian chronology. Here follows Table I.

p.121.

	Names of the Sásánian Kings, corresponding to Tables 1a in Parts I. and II.	Their Surnames.	How long each of them reigned.			Sum of the Years.		
			Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.
	Ardashîr ben Bâbak	Bâbakân	14	10	0	14	10	0
	Sâpûr ben Ardashîr	Firdih	30	6	12	45	4	12
	Hurmuz ben Shâpûr	The Hero	1	10	0	47	2	12
	Bahrâm ben Hurmuz, who killed Mânî	Yazdajân	3	3	3	50	5	15
5.	Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	Shâhîdih	17	0	0	67	5	15
	Bahrâm ben Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	Sakânshâh	0	4	0	67	9	15
	Narsî ben Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	Nakhcîrkân	9	0	0	76	9	15
	Hurmuz ben Narsî	Kôhpad	7	5	0	84	2	15
	Shâpûr ben Hurmuz Dhû-al'aktâf	Hôba-sunbâ	72	0	0	156	2	15
10.	Ardashîr ben Hurmuz	The Beautiful	4	0	0	160	2	15
	Shâpûr ben Shâpûr	Sâbûr-aljunûd	5	4	0	165	6	15
	Bahrâm ben Shâpûr	Karmânshâh	11	0	0	176	6	15
	Yazdagird ben Shâpûr	Scoloratus	21	5	17	198	0	2
	Bahrâm hon Yazdagird	Gûr	18	10	0	216	10	2
15.	Yazdagird ben Bahrâm	Shâhdôst	18	3	28	235	2	0
	Frêdûn ben Yazdagird	Mardâna	27	0	0	262	2	0
p.122.	Balâsh ben Fêrôz	Karmân-mâna	4	0	0	265	2	0
	Kobâd ben Fêrôz	Nîk-râî	38	0	0	304	2	0
	Jâmâsp ben Fêrôz, the brother of the preceding	Nikârêw	2	0	0	306	2	0
20.	Kobâd ben Fêrôz, the second time	Ziadik	4	0	0	310	2	0
	Kisrâ Anôshirwân—till the birth of the Prophet	The Just King	41	0	0	351	2	0
	The same afterwards	" "	7	7	0	358	9	0
	Hurmuz hon Kisrâ—till he was deposed and strangled	Turkzâd	9	7	10	368	4	10
	Kisrâ—till he carried the wood of the Cross away from Aelia	Parwîz the Glorious King	33	0	0	401	4	10
	The same afterwards—till the Flight of the Prophet	" "	0	1	8	401	5	18
	The same afterwards—till he was deposed, blinded, and killed	" "	4	10	22	406	4	10
	Kobâd ben Kisrâ—till he perished in the plague	Shîrawaihi	0	8	0	407	0	10
25.	Ardashîr ben Shîrawaihi, 7 years old	The Little One	1	6	0	408	6	10
	Shahrbarâz, whom Kisrâ had sent out to besiege Constantinople	Khorramân	0	1	8	408	7	18
	Pûrân, daughter of Kisrâ Parwîz. Her mother was Mary, the daughter of the Cæsar	Fortunata	1	4	0	409	11	18
	Kisrâ hon Kobâd ben Hurmuz ben Kisrâ Parwîz	The Short One	0	10	0	410	9	18
	Fêrôz	Khôshdîd	0	1	20	410	11	8
30.	Azarmidukht, daughter of Parwîz, till she was poisoned	The Just	0	6	0	411	5	8
	Farrukhzâd Khosrau, a child	"	0	1	0	411	6	8
	Yazdagird ben Shahryûr hon Kisrâ Parwîz, 15 years old	The Last King	20	0	0	431	6	8
	After him the rule of the Arabians commenced.							

p.123. The following Table II. rests on the authority of Ḥamza, who says that he has amended it by means of the Abastâ, and transcribed it from the *Kitâb-alsiyar-Alkabîr*.

TABLE II. OF PART III.

Names of the Sâsânian Kings.	How long each of them reigned.			Sum of the Years.		
	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.
Ardashîr Bâbak	14	6	0	14	6	0
Shâpûr ben Ardashîr	30	0	28	44	6	28
Hurmuz ben Shâpûr	1	10	0	46	4	28
Bahrâm ben Hurmuz	3	3	3	49	8	1
5. Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	17	0	0	66	8	1
Bahrâm ben Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	0	4	0	67	0	1
Narsî ben Bahrâm	9	0	0	76	0	1
Hurmuz ben Narsî	7	5	0	83	5	1
Shâpûr ben Hurmuz Dhû-al'aktâf	72	0	0	155	5	1
10. Ardashîr ben Hurmuz	4	0	0	159	5	1
Shâpûr ben Shâpûr	50	4	0	209	9	1
Bahrâm ben Shâpûr	11	0	0	220	9	1
Yazdagird ben Bahrâm Sceleratus	21	5	8	242	2	9
Bahrâm ben Yazdagird, Gûr	23	0	0	265	2	9
p.124. 15. Yazdagird ben Bahrâm	18	4	28	283	7	7
Fêrôz ben Yazdagird	27	0	1	310	7	8
Balash ben Fêrôz	4	0	0	314	7	8
Kobâd ben Fêrôz	43	0	0	357	7	8
Anôshirwân ben Kobâd	47	7	0	405	2	8
20. Hurmuz ben Anôshirwân	11	7	10	416	9	18
Parwîz ben Hurmuz	38	0	0	454	9	18
Shîrawaihi ben Parwîz	0	8	0	455	5	18
Ardashîr ben Shîrawaihi	1	6	0	456	11	18
Pûrândukht, daughter of Parwîz	1	4	0	458	3	18
25. Guskanasptadha	0	2	0	458	5	18
Azarmîdukht, daughter of Parwîz	1	4	0	459	9	18
Khurzâd Khusra	0	1	0	459	10	18
Yazdagird ben Shahryâr	20	0	0	479	10	18

The following Table III. in this Part is that one which Ḥamsa says he transcribed from the copy of the Maubadh. p.125.

Names of the Sâsânian Kings, such as Hamza says he has taken from the Copy of the Maubadh.	How long each of them reigned.			Sum of the Years.		
	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.
Ardashîr b. Bâbak (after having made war upon the "*Petty Princes*")	14	10	0	14	10	0
Shâpûr ben Ardashîr	30	6	15	44	10	15
Hurmuz ben Shâpûr	3	3	0	48	1	15
Bahrâm ben Hurmuz	17	0	0	65	1	15
Bahrâm Sakân-shâh	40	4	0	105	5	15
Narsa ben Bahrâm	9	0	0	114	5	15
Hurmuz ben Narsa	7	0	0	121	5	15
Shâpûr Dhû-al'aktâf	72	0	0	193	5	15
Ardashîr ben Hurmuz	4	0	0	197	5	15
Shâpûr ben Shâpûr	5	0	0	202	5	15
Bahrâm ben Shâpûr	11	0	0	213	5	15
Yazdagird Sceleratus	21	5	18	234	11	3
Bahrâm Gûr	19	11	0	254	10	3
Yazdagird ben Bahrâm	14	4	18	269	2	21
Fêrôz ben Yazdagird	17	0	0	286	2	21
Balâsh ben Fêrôz	4	0	0	290	2	21
Kobâd ben Fêrôz	41	0	0	331	2	21
Anôshirwân	48	0	0	379	2	21
Hurmuz ben Anôshirwân	12	0	0	391	2	21
Parwîz	38	0	0	429	2	21
Kobâd Shîrawaihi	0	8	0	429	10	21
Ardashîr ben Shîrawaihi	1	6	0	431	4	21
Pûrân, daughter of Parwîz	1	4	0	432	8	21
Fêrôz	0	1	0	432	9	21
Azarmîdukht	0	6	0	433	3	21
Khurradâdh Khusra	1	0	0	434	3	21
Yazdagird ben Shahryâr	20	0	0	454	3	21

p.126.

In the book of 'Abû-alfaraj Alzanjânî we have found the chronology of this Part differing from our accounts in the preceding three tables; we have added his account in this place, in conformity with what we have done in the preceding two Parts. And herewith the Chronological Table ends.

p.127.

Names of the Sâsânian Kings, according to the Tradition of 'Abû-alfaraj Alzanjânî.	How long each of them reigned.			Sum of the Years.		
	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.
Ardashîr ben Bâbak	14	10	0	14	10	0
Shâpûr ben Ardashîr	31	6	18	46	4	18
Hurmuz ben Shâpûr	1	6	0	47	10	18
Bahrâm ben Hurmuz	3	3	3	51	1	21
5. Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	17	0	0	68	1	21
Bahrâm ben Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	4	4	0	72	5	21
Narsî ben Bahrâm.	9	0	0	81	5	21
Hurmuz ben Narsî	9	0	0	90	5	21
Shâpûr ben Hurmuz Dhûal'aktâf	72	0	0	162	5	21
10. Ardashîr ben Hurmuz	4	0	0	166	5	21
Shâpûr ben Shâpûr	5	4	0	171	9	21
Bahrâm ben Shâpûr	11	0	0	182	9	21
Yazdagird Sceleratus	21	5	18	204	3	9
Bahrâm Gûr	18	11	3	223	2	12
15. Yazdagird ben Bahrâm	18	4	18	241	7	0
Hurmuz	7	0	0	248	7	0
Fêrôz ben Yazdagird	27	0	0	275	7	0
Balâsh ben Fêrôz	4	0	0	279	7	0
Kobâd and Tâmâsp, sons of Fêrôz	43	0	0	322	7	0
20. Anôshirwân ben Kobâd	47	7	5	370	2	5
p.128. Hurmuz ben Anôshirwân	11	7	15	381	9	20
Parwîz ben Hurmuz	38	0	0	419	9	20
Shîrawaihi ben Parwîz	0	7	0	420	4	20
Ardashîr ben Shîrawaihi	0	5	0	420	9	20
25. Khûhân, who besieged the Greeks	0	0	22	420	10	12
Kisrâ ben Kobâd	0	3	0	421	1	12
Pûrân, daughter of Parwîz	1	6	0	422	7	12
Gushanasptadha	0	2	0	422	9	12
Azarmidukht, daughter of Parwîz	0	4	0	423	1	12
30. Farrukhzâd Khusrau	0	1	0	423	2	12
Yazdagird ben Shahryâr	20	0	0	443	2	12

Next we return to fulfil our promise of explaining the way in which Alkisrawî works out the chronology of this Part III., having perceived the confusion of the former two parts, although we cannot help wondering very much at him and at his method. For, whilst trying and experimenting, he has subtracted from the period between Alexander and Yazdagird 266 years for the period of the Ashghânian rule. Ḥamza, however, records only that tradition, which he says he has taken from and amended by means of the *Abastâ*, and the other tradition which he says he has taken from the copy of the Maubadh. And according to both these traditions, this period is longer even than 350 years (Ḥamza-Abastâ, 358 years; Ḥamza-Maubadh, 496 years). Now it is necessary for us to use either of these two traditions, or to add to them that one which Alkisrawî holds to be correct (as a third tradition), in order not to use any other tradition but those which he himself mentions. Or did he possibly place his confidence in that one which we have mentioned, and derived from the Shahnâma (266 years)? p.129.

Further, now, as Alkisrawî has done this, and thinks that the existence of such confusion is an established fact, I should like to know why he refers it to the period of the Sâsânian, not to that of the Ashghânian rule. For there was much more opportunity for mistakes creeping into the chronology of the Ashghânians (than into that of the Sâsânians), because during their period the Persian empire was disorganized, everyone minded only his own affairs, and people were prevented by various circumstances from preserving their chronology. Such were, *e.g.* the calamities which Alexander and his Greek lieutenants brought upon them, further the conflagration of all the literature in which people delighted, the ruin of all fine arts which were the recreation and the desire of the people. And more than that. He (Alexander) burned the greatest part of their religious code, he destroyed the wonderful architectural monuments, *e.g.* those in the mountains of Istakhr, now-a-days known as the Mosque of Solomon ben David, and delivered them up to the flames. People even say that even at the present time the traces of the fire are visible in some places.

This is the reason why they have neglected a certain space of time in the first part of the period, between Alexander and Ardashîr, *viz.* when the Greeks reigned over them. And they did not begin to settle their chronology until their fright and terror had subsided in consequence of the establishment of the Ashkânian rule over them. Therefore the period preceding this event was much more liable to confusion (than the later period of the Sâsânians), because under the Sâsânians the empire was in good order, and the royal dignity was transmitted in their family in uninterrupted succession, whilst in the time of those (their predecessors) there was much confusion. This is proved by all the testimonies which we have produced in support of this our view.

Here follows the table containing the so-called emendation of Alkisrawî.

p.130.

Names of the Sâsânian Kings, as reported by Hamza, according to the Emendation of Alkhârawî.	How long each of them reigned.			Sum of the Years.		
	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.
Ardashîr ben Bâbak	19	10	0	19	10	0
Sâbûr-aljunûd	32	4	0	52	2	0
Hurmuz b. Sâbûr-aljunûd	1	10	0	54	0	0
Bahrâm ben Hurmuz	9	3	0	63	3	0
5. Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	23	0	0	86	3	0
Bahrâm ben Bahrâm ben Bahrâm	13	4	0	99	7	0
Narsa ben Bahrâm	9	0	0	108	7	0
Hurmuz ben Narsa	13	0	0	121	7	0
Shâpûr Dhû-al'aktâf	72	0	0	193	7	0
10. Ardashîr, brother of the preceding	4	0	0	197	7	0
Shâpûr ben Shâpûr Dhû-al'aktâf	82	0	0	279	7	0
Bahrâm, son of the preceding	12	0	0	291	7	0
Yazdagird ben Bahrâm, *Clemens*, Prince of Sharwîn	82	0	0	373	7	0
Yazdagird ben Yazdagird, *Atrox*	23	0	0	396	7	0
15. Bahrâm Gûr, son of the preceding	23	0	0	419	7	0
Yazdagird b. Bahrâm Gûr	18	5	0	437	0	0
Bahrâm ben Yazdagird	26	1	0	463	1	0
Fêrôz ben Bahrâm	29	0	1	492	1	1
Balâsh ben Fêrôz	3	0	0	495	1	1
20. Kubâd, brother of Balâsh	68	0	0	563	1	1
p.131. Anôshirwân ben Kubâd	47	7	0	610	8	1
Hurmuz ben Anôshirwân	23	0	0	633	8	1
Parwîz ben Hurmuz	38	0	0	671	8	1
Shîrawaihi ben Hurmuz	0	8	0	672	4	1
25. Ardashîr ben Shîrawaihi	1	0	0	673	4	1
Shahrbarâz	0	1	8	673	5	9
Bûrân, daughter of Kisrâ Parwîz	1	0	0	674	5	9
Khushnushbanda (Gushanasptadha)	0	2	0	674	7	9
Khusrau ben Kubâd ben Hurmuz	0	10	0	675	5	9
30. Fêrôz, a descendant of Ardashîr ben Bâbak	0	2	0	675	7	9
Azarmîdukht, daughter of Parwîz	0	4	0	675	11	9
Farrukhzâd ben Khusrau b. Parwîz. His mother was Girawaihi, sister of Bahrâm Shûbîn	0	1	0	676	0	9
34. Yazdagird ben Shahryâr	20	0	0	696	0	9

On Titles in the Khalifate.—It is a theory of the astrologers that none of the khalifs of Islâm and the other kings of the Muslims reigns longer than twenty-four years. As to the reign of Almuṭî' that extended to nearly thirty years, they account for it in this way, saying that already at the end of the reign of Almuttaḳî, and at the beginning of that of Almustaḳfî, the empire and the rule had been transferred from the hands of the family of 'Abbâs into those of the family of Buwaihi (Bûya, Bôya), and that the authority which remained with the Banî-'Abbâs was only a juridical and religious, not a political and secular affair, in fact something like the dignity of the *Rôsh-gâlûthâ* with the Jews, who exercises a sort of religious authority without any actual rule and empire. Therefore the 'Abbâside prince, who at present occupies the throne of the *Khilâfa*, is held by the astrologers to be only the (spiritual) head of Islâm, but not a king. p.132.

Already in ancient times astrologers used to prophesy this state of affairs. Such a prophecy you find, *e.g.* in the book of 'Aḥmad ben Aṭṭayyib Alsarakhsî, where he speaks of the conjunction of Saturn and Mars in the sign of Cancer. The same was distinctly declared by the Hindu Kanaka, the astrologer of Alrashîd, for he maintained that the reign of the Banî 'Abbâs would be transferred to a man who would come from Ispahân. He determined, also, the time when 'Alî ben Buwaihi, called 'Imâd-aldaula, should come forward in Ispahân (as a claimant to supreme power).

When the Banî-'Abbâs had decorated their assistants, friends and enemies indiscriminately, with vain titles, compounded with the word *Daula* (*i.e. empire*, such as Helper of the Empire, Sword of the Empire, etc.), their empire perished; for in this they went beyond all reasonable limits. This went on so long till those who were especially attached to their court claimed something new as a distinction between themselves and the others. Thereupon the khalifs bestowed double titles. But then also the others wanted the same titles, and knew how to carry their point by bribery. Now it became necessary a second time to create a distinction between this class and those who were directly attached to their court. So the khalifs bestowed triple titles, adding besides the title of Shâhinshâh. In this way the matter became utterly opposed to common sense, and clumsy to the highest degree, so that he who mentions them gets tired before he has scarcely commenced, that he who writes them loses his time and writing, and he who addresses them runs the risk of missing the time for prayer.

It will not do any harm, if we mention here the titles which, up to our time, have been bestowed by their majesties the khalifs. We shall comprise them in the following table.

	The Names of those on whom Titles were bestowed.	The Titles which were bestowed by Their Majesties the Khalifs.
	Alḳâsim ben 'Ubaid-allâh. . .	Waliyy-al-daula.
	His son.	'Amîd-al-daula.
	'Abû-Muḥammad ben Ḥamdân .	Nâṣir-al-daula.
	His son	Sa'd-al-daula.
	'Abû-alḥasan 'Alî ben Ḥamdân .	Saif-al-daula.
	'Alî ben Buwaihi	'Imâd-al-daula.
	'Abû-alḥasan 'Aḥmad ben Buwaihi	Mu'izz-al-daula.
	Alḥasan ben Buwaihi . . .	Rukn-al-daula.
	'Abû-Manṣûr Bakhtiyâr ben 'Abî-alḥasan.	'Izz-al-daula.
	'Abû-'Isḥâḳ ben Alḥusain . .	'Umdat-al-daula.
	'Abû-Ḥarb Alḥabashî ben 'Abî-alḥusain.	Samad-al-daula.
	'Abû-Manṣûr Bîsutûn ben Washmgîr.	Ẓahîr-al-daula.
	'Abû-Manṣûr Buwaihi ben Alḥasan	Mu'ayyid-al-daula.
	Almarzubân ben Bakhtiyâr . .	'Izâz-al-daula.
	Kâbûs ben Washmgîr . . .	Shams-al-ma'âlî.
	'Abû-'Aḥmad Ḥârith ben 'Aḥmad	Waliyy-al-daula.
	'Abû-Shujâ' Fanâkhusra ben Alhasan.	'Aḍud-al-daula wa Tâj-al-milla.
	'Abû-Kâlinjar ben Fanâkhusra .	Fakhr-aldaula wa Falak-al-'umma.
	'Abû-Kâlinjar Marzubân ben Fanâkhusra.	Ṣamṣâm-al-daula wa Shams-al-milla.
	'Abû-alfawâris ben Fanâkhusra .	Sharaf-al-daula wa Zaman-al-milla.
	'Abû-Ṭâlib Rustam ben 'Alî . .	Majd-al-milla wa kahf-al-'umma.
134.	'Abû-alḳâsim Maḥmûd ben Sabuktagîn.	Yamîn-al-daula wa 'Amîn-al-milla.
	'Abû-Naṣr Khurra Fêrôz ben Fanâkhusra.	Bahâ-al-daula wa Ḍiyâ-al-milla wa Ghiyâth-al-'umma.
	'Abû-alḥasan Muḥammad ben 'Ibrâhîm.	Nâṣir-al-daula.
	'Abû-al'abbâs Tâsh Alḥâjib . .	Ḥusâm-al-daula.
	'Abû-alḥasan Fâ'iḳ-alkhâṣṣa . .	'Amîd-al-daula.
	'Abû-'Alî Muḥammad ben Muḥammad ben 'Ibrâhîm.	Nâṣir-al-daula.
	Sabuktagîn, first	Mu'în-al-daula.
	Afterwards he received the title of	Nâṣir-al-din wal-daula.
	Maḥmûd ben Sabuktagîn . .	Saif-al-daula.
	'Abû-alfawâris Bektûzûn Alḥâjib	Sinân-al-daula.
	'Abû-alḳâsim Muḥammad ben 'Ibrâhîm.	Naṣîr-al-daula.
	'Abû-Mansûr Alp Arslân Albâlawî	Mu'în-al-daula.

Also the Wazîrs of the Khalifs have received certain titles, compounded with the word *Dhû*, as *e.g. Dhû-al-yaminain, Dhû-al-ri'âsatain, Dhû-al-kifâyatain, Dhû-al-saifain, Dhû-al-ḳalamain, etc.*

The Buwaihi family, when, as we have mentioned, the power passed into their hands, imitated the example of the khalifs; nay, they made it still worse, and their title-giving was nothing but one great lie, when they called their Wazîrs, *e.g. Kâfî-al-kufât, Alkâfî Al'auḳad, 'Auḥad-alkufât.*

The family of Sâmân, the rulers of Khurâsân, had no desire for such titles, contenting themselves with their *kunyas* (such as *'Abû-Naṣr, 'Abû-al-ḥasan, 'Abû-Ṣâliḥ, 'Abû-al-ḳâsim, 'Abû-al-ḥârith*). In their lifetime they were called *Almalik, Almu'ayyad, Almuwaffaḳ, Almanṣûr, Almu'azzam, Almuntaṣir*, and after their death, *Alḥamîd, Alshahîd, Alsa'îd, Alsadîd, Alraḍi, etc.* To their field-marshals, however, they gave the titles of *Nâṣir-aldaula, 'Imâd-aldaula, Ḥusâm-aldaula, 'Amîd-aldaula, Saif-aldaula, Sinân-aldaula, Mu'în-aldaula, Nâṣir-aldaula*, in imitation of the ways of the khalifs.

The same was done by Bughrâkhân, when he had come forward (to claim supreme power) A.H. 382, calling himself *Shiḥâb-aldaula.*

Some of them, however, have gone beyond this limit, calling themselves *'Amîr-al-'âlam* and *Sayyid-al-'umarâ*. May God inflict on them ignominy in this world, and show to them and to others their weakness!

As to the 'Amîr, the glorious Prince, may God give a long duration to his reign! (to whom this book is dedicated), His Majesty the Khalif addressed him in a letter, and offered to him titles, such as these compounded with the word *Daula* (e.g. *Saif-al-daula, Ḥusâm-al-daula*, etc.). But then he considered himself superior to them, and abhorred the idea of being compared with those who were called by such titles but only in a very metaphorical way. He, therefore, selected for himself a title the full meaning of which did not exceed his merits (*Shams-al-ma'âli*, p.135. i.e. *Sun of the Heights*). He has become—may God give a long duration to his power!—among the kings of the world like the *sun*, who illuminates the darkness, in which they live, by the rays of his *heights*. He has come into high favour with the khalifs as a prince of the Believers. They wanted to redouble and to increase his title, but his noble mind declined it. May God give him a long life; may he enlighten all the parts of the world by his justice, and bless them by his look; may He raise *his* affairs and those of the subjects who dwell in his shadow to perfection, increasing them everlastingly. God is almighty to do this, and sees and knows all the affairs of his slaves!

Intervals between the Eras.—After this digression we now return to the point whence we started, and proceed, after having finished the collection of chronological dates in the preceding tables. Next we must turn our attention towards fulfilling our promise of teaching the reader that knowledge by means of which he may compute the eras that are

used in the Canons, for astronomical observations, and elsewhere, *e.g.* in commercial stipulations and contracts. To this we shall prefix a twofold *Ṭailasân*, which will indicate the intervals between the single eras in a constant measure, *i.e.* in days. In the lower half under the diagonal, you find the distances computed in days and written in Indian ciphers. In the upper half you find two kinds of numbers; the upper ones are these identical days written according to the sexagesimal system, whilst the lower ones are the same days in their various degrees (units, tenths, hundreds, etc.) transcribed from the Indian ciphers into the *Hurûf-aljummal*.

The following well-known calculation is an example of this system of notation. If we take $\{[(16^2)^2]^2\}^2$ or 16^{16}, and subtract 1 from the sum, we get the total sum of the reduplications of all the checks of the chessboard, if we commence with *one* for the first check. This sum, noted in Indian ciphers, is the following: 18,446,744,073,709,551,615; noted according to the sexagesimal system: 30. 30. 27. 9. 5. 3. 50. 40. 31. 0. 15.; and transcribed into the *Hurûf-aljummal*:

הואההטעגזמדזורדחא

If you transcribe these characters one after the other into Indian ciphers, you get the above-mentioned number.

Now, in the same way as this example, our *Ṭailasân* is to be understood. This threefold system of notation we use for no other purpose but this, that each mode should bear testimony to the other in case a doubt should arise regarding some of the characters and figures that denote the numbers.

We mention our method only in a summary way, and not at full
p.136. length, because the reader of this book must be more than a beginner in mathematics. We say, if a man wants to find an (unknown) era by the help of a known one, let him reduce the whole of the known era into days, and this sum is called "*The Basis.*" Then he must take the interval between the two eras, *viz.* the known and the unknown ones. This we call "*The Equation.*"

If, then, the known era (*i.e* its epoch) precedes the unknown one, he subtracts the equation from the basis. If, on the other hand, the known era (*i.e.* its epoch) follows the unknown one, he adds the equation to the basis. And the sum which he gets is the number of days of the unknown era.

Thereupon he must divide this sum of days by the number of days of that kind of year which is ascribed to the era in question. By this division he gets complete years. And the remainder of days is to be distributed over the months of the year according to the proper lengths which we have mentioned as peculiar to each of the different kinds of them.

Here are the days of the intervals between the epochs of the various eras represented in the twofold *Ṭailasân*. God is allwise!

TABLE SHOWING THE INTERVALS BETWEEN THE EPOCHS OF THE ERAS, CALCULATED IN DAYS.

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33.27.45.6. جوطوذا	38.46.18.6. حطهجوجا	15.46.17.6. هرطهجا	56.1.44.5. واهجهجا	33.34.28.5. جرجحاا	28.14.12.5. حوسبا	54.7.43.4. درطای	33.55.41.4. جطذای	13.56.58.3. جراسح	Æra Diluvii, with Egyptian years and months.
20.31.46.2. فدطظا	25.50.19.2. هبدجن	2.50.18.2. بفطظد	43.5.45.1. جدجمرح	20.38.29.1. دبنج	15.18.13.1. هطجحوب	41.11.44. ابطها	20.59.42. مزدها	Æra Nabonassari, with Egyptian years and months.	860,173
0.32.3.2. كردند	5.51.36.1. هوزحدج	42.50.35.1. بدلدج	23.6.2.1. جحهجب	0.39.46. مظزوا	55.18.30. هجاطی	21.12.1. ادجد	Æra Philippi, with Egyptian years and months.	154,760	1,014,933
39.19.2.2. طزهمد	44.38.35.1. دجدندج	21.38.34.1. اعمج	2.54.0.1. بدبطاب	39.26.45. طظهجوا	34.6.29. دطزدی	Æra Alexandri, with Syrian years and months.	4,341	159,101	1,019,274
5.13.33.1. هحهجهج	10.32.6.1. لهطجب	47.31.5.1. زهجب	28.47.31. حدددا	5.20.16. هفحه	Æra Augusti, with Greek years and Egyptian months. 104,794	109,135	263,895	1,124,068	
0.53.16.1. طزوب	5.12.50. همزطا	42.11.49. ثمزا	23.27.15. جدوهة	Æra Antonini, with Greek years and Egyptian months. 58,805	163,599	167,940	322,700	1,182,87	
87.25.1.1. زحاایب	42.44.34. جصبا	19.44.33. طهذاا	Æra Diocletiani, with Greek years and months. 55,643	114,448	219.242	223,583	378,343	1,238,516	
18.41.27. حزبط	23.0.1. جبرة	Æra Fugæ, with lunar years and Arabic months. 121,459	177,102	235,907	340,701	345,042	499,802	1,359,975	
55.40.26. هصبا	Æra Yezdegirdi, with Persian years and months. 3623	125,082	180,725	239.530	344,324	348,665	503,425	1,363,598	
Æra Mu'tadidi, with Greek years and Persian months.	96,055	99,678	221,137	276,760	335,585	440,379	444,720	599,480	1,459,653

138. **The Chess Problem.**—For the solution of the chess problem (*lit.* for the reduplication of the chess and its calculation) there are two fundamental rules. The one of them is this:—

The square of the number of a check x of the 64 checks of the chessboard is equal to the number of that check the distance of which from the check x is equal to the distance of the check x from the 1st check.

For example: take the square of the number of the 5th check, *i.e.* the square of $16\,(16^2)=256$, which is the number belonging to the 9th check. Now, the distance of the 9th check from the 5th is equal to the distance of the 5th check from the first one.

The second rule is this:—

The number of a check x minus 1 is equal to the sum total of the numbers of all the preceding checks.

Example: The number of the 6th check is 32. And 32—1 is 31, which is equal to the sum of the numbers of all the preceding checks, *i.e.* of—

$$1+2+4+8+16\,(=31).$$

If we take the square of the square of the square of 16, multiplied by itself (*i.e.* $\{[(16^2)^2]^2\}^2$ or 16^{16}), this is identical with taking the square of the number of the 33rd check, by which operation the number of the 65th check is to be found. If you diminish that number by 1, you get the sum of the numbers of all the checks of the chessboard. The number of the 33rd check is equal to the square of the number of the 17th check.

The number of the 17th check is equal to the square of the number of the 9th check.

The number of the 9th check is equal to the square of the number of the 5th check. And this (*i.e.* the number of the 5th check) is the above-mentioned number 16.

'Abû-Raihân says in his *Kitâb-al-'arkâm* (Book of the Ciphers): "I shall explain the method of the calculation of the chess problem, that the reader may get accustomed to apply it. But first we must premise that you should know, that in a progression of powers of 2 the single numbers are distant from each other according to a similar ratio. (*Lacuna?*) If the number of the reduplications, *i.e.* the number of the single members of a progression is an even one, it has two middle numbers. But if the number of the reduplications is an odd one, the progression has only one middle number.

The multiplication of the two ends by each other is equal to the multiplication of the two middle numbers. (In case there is only one middle number, its square is equal to the multiplication of the two end numbers.) This is one thing you must know beforehand. The other is this:—

If we want to know the sum total of any progression of powers of 2, we take the double of the largest, *i.e.* the last number, and subtract